

EXCLUSIVE

'I stole \$100 million  
from Ottawa'

—A BUREAUCRAT TELLS ALL P.22

IRAN

HOW TO  
SUPPORT THE  
PROTEST  
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The other  
genius  
behind  
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TEAR DOWN

24 SUSSEX

PAUL WELLS

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JULY 6th 2009

CANADA VS. THE WORLD

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panel's distribution infrastructure would be strong, many billions, including infrastructure set up costs. The real opportunity is found by making the extraction process more efficient. One of the main culprits is "fugitive emissions," which are lost into the atmosphere during the extraction process and are an undeveloped resource. One of the world's most innovative solutions was invented in Calgary, which captures fugitive emissions at the source, and uses them to power the extraction process. Not only does it reduce

streams overnight. The following day they can be placed in dinner bags, and shaved when ready to use. They taste like fresh berries and are a real treat in the middle of winter. S.A. Lowe, Lethbridge, AB



**IF PEOPLE** can't afford groceries, how would they pay a grocery shopping coach?

carbon emissions into the environment, but it is preferred within a year and driven down extraction costs moving forward. As you quote economist Peter Tertulkin: "the financial is our greatest failing, but it is also our greatest opportunity." Canada will be off the chart of necessity as and when required. Perry Maes, Amsterdam, Netherlands

#### BANK ON IT

IN YOUR June 8 column, writer Cindy Gall referred to the "saudade Grand Banks of Nova Scotia?" ("Europeans seeking too much cod?" Nov. 20). The Grand Banks belong to Newfoundland and Labrador, they always have. Certainly they won't be ceded to New Scotia during George W. Bush's tenure. Betty A. White, St. John's, Nfld.

#### GROCERY SHOCK

IT'S SO SICKLY reported "How to save money on groceries" (June, June 12), although I do take exception to one sentence by the "grocery shopping coach": "Scratches are the big deduction right now but they don't impress well. You have to eat them in a certain way." Fine! I disagree. After I pick my annual supply of delicious fresh fruit, which's converted into power packed frozen for meal year. The method for success is to freeze the berries whole, without sugar, in a single layer on cookie

sheet overnight. The following day they can be placed in dinner bags, and shaved when ready to use. They taste like fresh berries and are a real treat in the middle of winter. S.A. Lowe, Lethbridge, AB

WE MYERS, Guelph, Ont.

**IF PEOPLE** are having trouble affording groceries, how would they be able to pay someone to tell them how to shop? And don't people going through hard times deserve fresh, quality produce? What's more, my grandmother, mom and I have always been able to tell the difference between better and marginally in banking.

Leanne Dunlop, Halifax

WE READER READERS would like to enter lottery-like drawings on [www.kashi.com](http://www.kashi.com) or 1 Maclester Road, Toronto, Ont. M4Y 1P5. Please supply your name, address and daytime telephone number. Letters should be less than 300 words, and may be edited for space, style and clarity.



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This week on the Web

## PUT YOUR CANADIANNESS TO THE TEST

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ever at [macleans.ca/canadianness](http://macleans.ca/canadianness).  
Chart 1 of the quiz is on page 473.



### BLOGS



**SCOTT PICHUK.** What are we doing living in a country where Americans get to become French? gotta be a lost mind, maybe who is a lost mind, and Italy gets Silver Berlusconi, in is older who's just like Kim Jong Un, and the rest of us are instead of meanness? [macleans.ca/blogs](http://macleans.ca/blogs)



**PAUL WILLIS.** I welcome said he had seen here the Americans and French, I found a new one, and I am not sure he would like to do these aggressive websites did not care a velvet resolution from very well then it won't be what [macleans.ca/blogs](http://macleans.ca/blogs)

### WEB POLL RESULTS

How has Michael Ignatieff's decision not to bring down the government influenced your impression of him?

For the better—it's easy to see him as a co-operating (37%)

For the worse—he partied and lied (38%)

It hasn't changed at all (31%)

THIS WEEK'S POLL: [macleans.ca/polls](http://macleans.ca/polls)

### OPENING WEEKEND



Michael Ignatieff plays a country music star. Chen, inspired by Sarah Palin, who also donned her in their service. **JOSEPH KAY/OPA**

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## A WEEK IN THE LIFE OF GARY BETTMAN

The NHL commissioner has had a hectic few days. At the NHL awards in Las Vegas, he addressed player representatives tired by a filling salary cap, shabby franchises and dubious TV deals. Good news came Monday when Chicago businessman Jerry Bussell's confirmed plan to rejoin the Phoenix Coyotes. But within 24 hours, Bettman found himself trying to broker peace between the two feuding owners of the Tampa Bay Lightning, Owen Daniels and Lou Lamoriello.

## Good news

### Shifting sands

Rising petroleum prices have prompted new life into the debate of war, and that's good news for Canada. You, sir, pay off stakes for corporate fill-ups. But Can-ada needs oil patch jobs, and with a \$50-billion deficit, our government needs the tax revenue from oil sands generation. Moreover, plans to renew the North American auto industry are predicated on the development and sale of smaller, fuel-efficient cars, so gas may prove to be the bad guy's friend. If these twin engines of our economy—energy and auto making—get running again, everyone benefits.

### Aiming high

A sweeping proposal from Egypt has the potential to raise talk between Israel and the Palestinians to a newsworthy level. Under Egger's plan, an end to the blockade on Gaza should be followed by a prisoner exchange between the two sides and the formation of a Palestinian unity government, ending Hamas rule in Gaza. The deal includes safe passage to Gaza and an upgraded port by a coalition group—a major breakthrough in recent peace negotiations. The approach may appear a bit farfetched, but it addresses a persistent impediment to peace between Israel and the Palestinians: no source has yet resolved one irritant that threatens to end the peace: the agreement you've worked so diligently to reach.

### Ugghh!

Even more down in lessons and grammar, and thank goodness. Up-and-coming Michelle Larcher de Brito was sold in absence of Wimbledonian should be docked points for the pre-

laugh shrill she makes when bringing the ball. Occasional grunts, though, are unavoidable in a sport where a powerful serve wins games. But amateur legend Mariano Martínez was right to label the "monstrous" cheering, pace and simple "H" Martínez could even 18 Grand Slams placed with a meaning, or, even worse, the lesser lights can do without it, too.

### Cold comfort

After 180 years of Danish rule, Greenland reached a new self-

## FACE OF THE WEEK



TIGER WOODS reacts to his missed tee shot on the first hole of the U.S. Open. Lucas Glover (right) went on to win the tournament.

## Bad news

### Price of war

The Department of National Defence is straining Canadian taxpayer and credibility by refusing to release the estimated financial cost of terrorism in Afghanistan, citing security issues. DND has already said that an end to the conflict is targeting \$1 billion, so how does releasing the projected spending on the conflict in 2003-04 help the "tale" of war? More likely military brass censored the information to bolster the security of government, or so when she officially renounced that good parenting requires one parent to stay home (at considerably financial sacrifice, she noted), she knew of what she spoke. Evans was expressing an opinion, not setting government policy, but you wouldn't know it from the outrage. She offered good arguments, saying the "would have preferred not to have initiated the conflict" but "we're glad the did," and she owned up in apology.

### Picking your battles

French President Nicolas Sarkozy fell into a familiar trap this week when he labelled Sarkozy "a sign of debauchery" and dismissed the movement as a "farce." Then again, Western politicians have had their fair share by fixating on the personal choices of Muslim rather than what really matters: respect for the rule of law and basic human rights. Fortunately, Sarkozy received among the few leaders in Europe who responded to his call for modernizing Islam from the brutal suppression of pro-democracy protesters. That's the kind of intervention Muslim can use.

### Isn't that American?

Several cities in the U.S. have received Fourth of July fireworks this year because of tight budgets. Regrettably, and perhaps ironically, at least one Canadian town has stepped into the void. Officials in St. John's, Newfoundland, have decided to keep their "Canada Day" fireworks on Saturday, July 4, saying they hope to boost attendance by drawing in the weekend cottage crowd. Sure, perhaps, but not wise. No one would consider moving Christy Mathewson, so why Canada Day?

### Pluck o' the Iris

Iris Evans, Alberta's first high-profile finance minister, knows something about raising kids. The former nurse and one-time minister of children's services raised three sons through financial difficulties, and, as why Canada Day?



PHOTO: RICHARD LINDNER FOR THE GLOBE AND MAIL

## It's time to tear down 24 Sussex



It has no fireplaces. Its walls are lined with asbestos. Its plumbing and wiring would not pass muster in any other house in Ottawa. Its hot tub. Its no-conditions evaporates a radiator. It has, by all accounts, become a car parking lot on the stairs.

It has not had a thorough renovation in half a century. Fixing it in 2006 would have cost \$10 million. Fixing it now will certainly cost more. Whenever the repairs begin, the tenants will have to vacate the property for at least a year, probably more. It was built for its original purpose and its decent bones are barely scratchy. It opposes its residents—though they are required by the unbreakable codes of popular modernity to problems—and it doesn't update the exterior. Finally, it doesn't even do much for the neighbourhood. It is the Prince Mourier's residence at 26 Sussex Drive, and it is time to tear the sucker down.

The sell won't go over well in certain circles. I'd call them "heritage" circles, though there is hardly any heritage left in the place, if that ever was any. It was built in 1881 by a lumber baron named Joseph Merril. Carrer for his third wife, Hannah. Carrer was also a member of Parliament and dabbled in various other unenviable trades and transport, postal delivery, newspaper publishing. The house he built on the hill overlooking the Ottawa

River didn't become a prime minister's residence until 1961, when Louis St. Laurent moved in. So the list of PMs who never lived there—King, Carter, Trudeau, Kim Campbell—is as long as it is impressive: the list of those who did. (Non-starters: those the job long enough to move in.)

Nowhere else were some renovations done to preserve the house of Joseph Merril. Carrer for future prime ministers, that would have been vulgar language. Successive tenants have added all manner of extensions, some modest. The rules of heritage property protection have been ignored for almost as long as 24 Sussex has been a formal address.

I have never set foot in the house, though I have been to occasional parties in its lovely back bay. Every summer the house is a magnet for the press gallery, usually during the grand soiree at a garden party. This year the lobster sandwiches were excellent. Laurier Harper told me to bring stories about hiking. Then she turned around and headed bravely backstage, and we all felt a little bit of her burden.

Well, I avern't heard. "Old Bill there," my former frequent visitor teller, "sele's not been in hardly any hearings left in the place, if that ever was any. It was built in 1881 by a lumber baron named Joseph Merril. Carrer for his third wife, Hannah. Carrer was also a member of Parliament and dabbled in various other unenviable trades and transport, postal delivery, newspaper publishing. The house he built on the hill overlooking the Ottawa

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Michael Ignatieff (and yes, yes, yes, too, Elizabeth May) might agree that the winner of the next election will not reside at 24 Sussex until it has been fixed. But it will still be a half-heritage behemoth with asbestos flood doors sticking out. It will continue to be outclassed by the towering, proudly eccentric French Embassy next door, one of the most extraordinary jewels of art deco architecture anywhere in the world.

That is no small repair job—which has surely grown since the estimate was made three years ago—given the need to drain the house when a neighbour's \$10 million house, Corian O'Farrell, has given way who she has a \$10 million house? Hard, Anna, the rose of Agave in *The Simpsons*. *Friendship of Apes* can live well, so can our own nation's leaders.

So let's start over. Tchobas here, ladies and gentlemen. We are no longer just past a nation of owners of wood, owners of water, and pushers of flyers. We are now owners. We have an audience and burden to beat the world and honest too, or at least a moderately well-respected public service!

Just think of the stimulus a new public works project would provide. Not just economic stimulus, although I have an high authority that you can't build a house these days without putting shovels on the ground. Designing one of the country's many buildings as old stimulus is a no-brainer too. So let's have a long, long, long, what would you call it? our country's first family? Susser + Peron? Jack Dorsard? No for parang a trap-door in, Jack. The tenant won't always be a Cameroneer.

I'm serious. This page is lazing a call for bids. I want the professional and decent of Canada to design a new house for the Prince Minister. What can we build

on half a hill overlooking the Ottawa River? These days, for say, \$12 million? It has to house an average sized family comfortably. It needs space for them to play, relax, stay in shape, conviviality. It is not a functional government building, but in these days of telecommuting it will need spaces for the bureaucrat to work, meet staff, and party, parties, and welcome visiting dignitaries. Sometimes the prime minister will be over to the health care at the Constitution. They will have to be room at the big dining room table for 21 guests.

Make it green. Make it Internet friendly. Make it useable. Jane Chapman could tell you stories about precedents. Make it beautiful. And make it happy, because you've got a great team behind you. Obviously preliminary, sketchy ideas. Mail your proposals to: "PM's House" at MacLean's, 190 Wellington Street, Suite 400, Ottawa, K1A 5A4. Or email them to [www.macleans.ca/makemewell](http://www.macleans.ca/makemewell). Deadline for receipt of submissions is Thursday, July 2. We'll pull the best ones in this magazine soon after your drafting tables, ideas and parchment. A winner's honour is awaiting you.

ON THE WEB! For more Paul Wells, visit his blog at [www.macleans.ca/makemewell](http://www.macleans.ca/makemewell)

## What would real job loss insurance look like?



Let's suppose, for our read, in open economy terms, that the current legislation does away with refresher employment insurance. Some thing to do with refresher Employment Insurance. It is a stretch, I know, but suppose. What would a refresher plan look like? What might the two options come up with, if they were at it, all there, serious?

They might start by changing the name, or I should say changing it. It was Lloyd Axworthy who changed Employment Insurance to Employment Insurance, a point of linguistic legibility that might be described as Orwellian in its intent. You bloody should about it. Encourage yourself in this something you will not happen disaster fire insurance, flood insurance, dental death and dismemberment insurance. In this same way, unemployment insurance might benefit in the event of a major unemployment. Whereas employment insur-

ance would once intended to help you get past a temporary, unavoidable spell of unemployment.

Which, come to think of it, is more or less accurate description of the system as it now stands. For a great many Canadians, though, the insurance is not something they claim in the rare and unpredictable over time that they lose their job, something they claim every year, as predictably as the changing of the seasons—minus so, in what we know at the "seasonal industry" time.

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Or rather, more generally benefits are actually easier to obtain in regions where unemployment is relatively high—a place like B.C. policy, it is not the case that these regions suffer particularly high unemployment rates in part because of the easy availability of unemployment insurance. It's painful to deduce whether these employment benefits can't be a permanent fixture—relative to 40 hours of work, about 12 weeks, for as much as 37 weeks' benefits—as managers, or merely responding to incentives. What's impossible to think is that the system effectively inhibits employment in the seasonal industries, out of the premium paid by industry with more stable employment records. Workers are encouraged to remain in industries where they are likely to be unemployed, at least because the system makes it prior to them doing anything else.

So any reform worthy of the name cannot restrict itself to targeting the short-term needs of workers caught in a grip of a deep recession. It should rather aim to put the issue back into what we were wind up calling a. It's a datapoint, a datapoint with regional variations in eligibility requirements, as every now and then we agree should be, in favour of they were at it, all there, serious?

They might start by changing the name, or I should say changing it. It was Lloyd Axworthy who changed Employment Insurance to Employment Insurance, a point of linguistic legibility that might be described as Orwellian in its intent. You bloody should about it. Encourage yourself in this something you will not happen disaster fire insurance, flood insurance, dental death and dismemberment insurance. In this same way, unemployment insurance might benefit in the event of a major unemployment. Whereas employment insur-

ance system should be based on insurance principles. At a minimum, that should include "experience rating" of premiums, at least for the employer paid portion, to eliminate the current cross-subsidization of industry by worker. This would harmonize with a history of heavy use of the system would go up, premium in more stable industries would go down. We would also do well to follow the C.D. Howe Institute's suggestion, and set premiums with a view to balancing the bookkeep the business cycle, rather than an annual basis, as is present—a policy that, presumably, means raising premiums in bad times and lowering them in good, encouraging savings in when unemployment rises than tempering them.

For as far as I can make an unemployment insurance should be about insurance, it should also be about well. Over time, the system has been stretched to cover a number of other ancillary concerns that job training, training maternity benefits. These would be better funded off general revenues after all, who'd job training be provided only to those eligible for unemployment insurance, and not to all workers? Is maternity leave really the social catastrophe most for which insurance was designed?

Indeed, we these social benefits out from under the umbrella of unemployment insurance to unemployment, shall we say to expand the quantum. You've done that in my opinion. Indeed, that is happening now. Among the reforms the Conservatives and Liberals plan to discuss this summer is how to extend unemployment insurance to the self-employed—was just maternity benefits, as the Tories proposed in their last election platform, but should unemployment benefits. How is this even possible? What will they have to do—dig themselves off?

Not that I expect such a proposal from the party you've just appointed to the working group. That suggests a valid intent to reform the policies of it. Suggestively that was the point of the Tories' new Canada Employment Insurance financing board, which will be responsible for setting premiums in the future. So why not generalize the system from political interference more generally? Leave decision about system design to an independent board of directors, with a single mandate to make unemployment insurance about unemployment insurance. M

ON THE WEB! For more Andrew Coyne, visit his blog at [www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne](http://www.macleans.ca/andrewcoyne)

# MITCH RAPHAEL ON A HANDSHAKING SITUATION AND A LOBSTER-COMPATIBLE MARRIAGE

## THE DEFENCE MINISTER, THE MILITARY AND THE VERY PROMINENT RANDAGE

It's not a tough job, but MPs rise reluctantly to the challenge of consuming as much lobster as possible. Minister of Fisheries and Oceans Gail Shea heard a packed reception at the Weston Ottawa for P.E.I. Seafood Producers, who, along with the Atlantic provinces, Quebec and the federal government, were trying to raise awareness of the low price challenges currently facing the lobster industry. When Shea's three daughters and two sons lived at home, she needed 15 to 20 lbs of lobster to feed her family in one sitting. Lobster MP Sébastien Gaudreault says when it comes to lobster, you mean, as they say in her home province of Newfoundland, "eat as much as you can afford." Gaudreault's husband is the perfect partner for eating lobster, the notes because "he eats the meat and the tails and my husband eats the bodies."

Defence Minister Peter MacKay arrived with his right arm in a sling after his right shoulder surgery but said that if he had to he could still crack open a lobster with one hand. Two days later, MacKay was a luncheon held by the Canadian Club of Toronto to honour the men and women of the Canadian Forces. VIPs included Laureen Harper and Gina Chetti. This time on MacKay's armamentarium there was a prominent bandage (he did not have an before). The bandage was to make the military folks less than awestruck by his arm. Jay Poston, noted military personnel who, giving very firm handshakes, said that one of those could have already damaged the defence minister's arm. MacKay used his left hand to grip people.



PETER MACKAY with Gail Shea at the lobster reception (top left), Gina Chetti (bottom left), Gail Shea with her three daughters and two sons (bottom right), Peter MacKay with Gina Chetti (right), Gina Chetti (circle).

## IF HE CAN MAKE IT TO OCTOBER...

At Speaker Peter MacKay's gun dinner, CTV's Craig Oliver jokingly announced that the media were gagging him "blue ribbon panel" so ensure that there will be an election and after October 2009 if MacKay remains like Speaker until Oct. 12 (which happens to be

Thanksgiving), he will be the longest-serving Speaker in Canadian history.

## RUBSY DHALLA AND THE NEW PHILIPPINES TWIN

The chanted has been changing on the dooms surrounding Ruby Dhalla and alleged Filipino family abuse in her home. The MP for

Brantford Springdale recently attended her arrival of a plaque for the naming of the city of Brantford, Ont., with the city of Markham the Philippines. Dhalla says she was welcomed warmly by citizens. The MP noted that she has always had a strong connection with the Filipino community. When Dhalla, who is 58, grew up in Westport, most of her close friends were from the Philippines. She says the MP "taught me how to make Filipino food like pother� enrobing soils because I learned how to cook [my native] Indian food."

## GRANDPA JACK AND 'O.C.'

NDP Leader Jack Layton became a grandfather with the birth of his wife, Olivia Chow's, son. He will call Layton "Grandpa" and will call his MP wife, Olivia Chow, by her initials, "O.C." That's what Layton's children from his first marriage, Sami Layton (Olivia's mother) and Michael Layton, call Chow. Chow's mother, Rio Sae Chow, who lives in the Layton house, will be called "Pop," which is "grandmother" in Cree.

## MP'S SOCCER LOSS SPARKS TOUGH TALK

MPs got schooled in soccer games. They lost to the Euro team ambassador 6 to 1, and then to the needs 6 to 2. Nova Scotia NDP MP Peter Stoffer, who organizes the games, says there was some suspicion that the media's goals, the son of a journalist, had been passed off as a CPAC employee. "Maybe they made him say some hours earlier in the day," he joked. "We're looking into having an inquiry."

**ON THE WEB:** For more Ottawa updates or to contact Mitchel Raphel, visit [mitchelraphel.ca/mitchelraphel.html](http://mitchelraphel.ca/mitchelraphel.html).

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## Sovereignty strategist Louise Beaudoin on 'Frenchification,' Quebec's self-confidence, and how to separate from Canada bit by bit

A CONVERSATION WITH MARTIN PATRICKIN

**Q** Tell me about the PQ's laser-like focus on sovereignty.   
**A:** We thought it was time to rechristen the sovereignty debate and re-launch the sovereignty debate.

It's time to do away with the existing game. It's nice to say that we are going to war for that but we might as well say everything falls in place, but we know this won't magically happen. So the best way to reignite the debate is this plan that [PQ leader] André Boisclair has presented. We want to be transparent as what we are doing and what we want. The first thing, of course, is for Ottawa to respect the continuation of what is in my view Quebec's powers, as well as those we share with the federal government, as well as to reclaim certain powers that we think are necessary for Quebec's development.

Q: In concrete terms, how do you arrive at getting these powers for Quebec?   
**A:** We've already started. A year and a half ago we put forward our proposed law on Quebec identity and citizenship. When we

got it to the legislature we will reintroduce this bill. Q: You are talking about how the PQ would make it mandatory for anyone running for office to speak French?

**A:** Yes. We'll present that part of it as it is, but it's negotiable. What is more, though, is what is in the next election, if the Parti Québécois wins, both the identity bill and the PQ's new sovereignty initiative will be front and centre. We'll also introduce a new Bill 101, because we believe that's been very good as far as helping the children of immigrants to go to French school until the age of 16. But we have to work on Quebec's businesses. It isn't enough for an entrepreneur to say, 'Pé, listen, to learn French he doesn't need it.' And this is more and more the case, especially in Montreal.

Q: This model requires applying the Bill 101 to businesses with 50 employees or less. Just now Gérard Lévesque, the father of Bill 101, recognized that this would be nearly impossible on a business level, if not to enforce.   
**A:** I think there are ways of doing it.   
**Q:** What can you do?

**A:** Look, the Journal de Montréal did many investigations, and found that it's impossible to serve an English-speaking client in many of Montreal. This isn't acceptable. If the law was still with us, and now the drift away from French, I've said we would be 100 per cent in favour of this. French must be learned inside the walls of every small business, with the blessing of the owner and the manager. The first step is for an immigrant, and it's very understandable, not to learn French, and it's very

hard to find a job. So you have to make him learn French while, not after. It is working. That is the future of 'Frenchification' in Quebec in small and medium-sized business. It's the best way to ensure that French is made useful and necessary in the workplace. And under our new Bill 101, the PQ will make that immigrant still receive all of their governmental correspondence in French after three years.

**Q:** It's an awful lot to say that he must find a job and learn French within three years or else.

**A:** It's not or else. All we're saying is that after three years they will receive their government correspondence in French. If they have a problem with reading it, they can call us and we'll help. But in some places you have to put your foot down. If you are in Italy, you speak Italian. We will encourage the predominance of the French language in Quebec's culture.

**Q:** We've had a lot of plans for a sovereignty Quebec.

**A:** Yeah, and if one of them had worked we'd be independent today.

**Q:** Why are Quebecers so apathetic about the issue?

**A:** I don't know. I'm not sure they are apathetic, though. The polls say that there are "only" 40 per cent of Quebecers who are favourable to sovereignty right now, but I find that number huge.

**Q:** But 75 per cent of Quebecers don't feel sovereignty is ever going to happen.

**A:** I'm trying to find ways to re-energize them. What we are saying is we are going to do certain things to get them, to make why sovereignty



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# Harper's next big chance

With Ignatieff cowed, the PM's brain trust plans the next attack

BY PAUL WILLE

In the last week of May, Prime Minister Stephen Harper met with his top political advisers and the Conservative party campaign team. He "put all the troops on high alert," a adviser said, and last week, "we told them to get ready for the summer."

Nothing particular on the outside world had triggered this decision, or anyone by Liberal Leader Michael Ignatieff or the other opposition leaders, no big news story. And it was hardly the first time Harper had ordered his party put on campaign footing without being sure a campaign was actually coming. The Conservative leader would always rather be safe than sorry. What had spurred this latest concern at the top level, the Harper advantage, was the Conservatives' own cut of the Liberals' best interests.

Every now and then, Harper's advisers—a loose-knit group that includes campaign chairman Doug Finley, chief of staff Guy Cormier, communications director Kory Lefebvre and a few others—try to figure out what they would advise the Liberal leader if that were their job. This time they came up with four strong arguments that, they thought, should persuade Michael Ignatieff to focus on election before Ignatieff's summer break if he could.

"First, he's only going to get a second chance," they said. "He would only be permitted by Liberals to say on and lead them into a second election after losing the first—if he takes the first chance pretty early." And they think he expects to lead a second chance.

the adviser said.

"Second, the ads are starting to hit." These were the "Just Voting" ads the Conservatives were running on television and the Internet which argue that Ignatieff has no respect of Canada unless he can run. Here the Harper adviser argued that since self-serving, income-polling organizations can find no evidence the ads have been a drag on voter registration for the Liberals, "but the target's the bona-fide members," the adviser said, "The target is Ignatieff's personal members. And they're starting to erode."

Third, "there was going to be evidence that the economy is bottoming March. And they would either go against us on a bad economy or a good one."

"Fourth, he's only going to lead if he doesn't have a lot of free."

So when Ignatieff went into the National Press Theatre on Monday, June 15, the Conservatives thought he was going to announce he had lost confidence in their government and would soon accordingly act as the opposition instead. Instead they heard, "Well, they're not going to make any move."

"The Liberal party is not seeking an election," Ignatieff said. "We want Parliament to work. We want to replace confrontation with cooperation. But we need the Prime Minister to provide the accountability that Canadian expect."

Instead of an electoral confrontation, Harper fixed himself in a day of secret negotiations with Ignatieff instead of a fight, the two men swapped a blue-chip pencil to consider changes to the employment insurance system. It will appear at the end of September. The Harper government will wait another at least that long. The mood among Conservatives this week was not short of jubilant after worrying for months that the Liberals



Liberal supporters might really have them on the ropes, they have caught a break. Ignatieff made the first bold move of his chastened career as Liberal leader—and blushed.

Obviously this is the way of Conservatives, who are predisposed to see their man, Harper as the winner in any confrontation. But it matches the early findings of pollsters and the private comments of Liberals.

A worldy large sample from poll of voter preference showed that the Liberals' lead over the Conservatives shrank from 4.9 points before the election to 1.4 points after Ignatieff's meeting behind closed doors, thus tracking shadow the Liberals taking a fleeting but tellingly one point dip.

Ignatieff had the summer to pick up his game. The consensus in Ottawa is that he'll do it. And Harper has the summer to plan for the next confrontation. For a guy who was the next just too workaholic that's a good place to be. Here's how it all happened.

IGNATIEFF

## Ignatieff has the summer to re-organize. But so does Harper, and Harper doesn't waste his summers.

Stephen from the beginning."

Ever since Harper returned to electoral politics in 2003, he has moved from strength to strength. He won the Canadian Alliance leadership and brokered the merger between his party and the Progressive Conservatives. In 2004 he won that party's leadership and went straight into electoral battle against Paul Martin's Liberals, finally winning it January 2006. From there he had two four-year terms of something close to stability while he set about defining his new Conservative party.

In the 2008 election he beat Stephen Dion's Liberals to their lowest share of the popular vote since Confederation, and their lowest total seat in 24 years. Then, finding a large enough and a broad enough opposition, Harper had Finance Minister Jim Flaherty deliver a

Never-a-budget update that proposed to eliminate public funding of political parties. The Liberals, New Democrats and Bloc Québécois deplored it as a cynical attempt at a re-invention and a pre-emptive strike. He didn't want an election. But if Harper wanted to avoid one, he needed to give Ignatieff more time to re-invent his party. Ignatieff wanted a more generous EI system, he wanted to know how much of that stimulus money was spent, he promised, he wanted to know how Harper planned to get out of the huge deficits he had dug at the opposition's demand, and he wanted to know how the government would replace spending in the stimulus. Clark Rennie never will no longer produce Four seasons. So he was demanding answers? "I don't need to have all the answers this week."

With that, he headed into question period. Harper almost never avoids the daily cross

ignatieff made the first bold move of his political career—and blushed.

press. Harper had his communications staff put out word that Jason Kenney, who faced a public inquiry into his dealings with Karlheinz Schreiber, was dismissed from the party. That merely succeeded in inflaming former Progressive Conservatives who were still loyal to Mulroney. Then Natural Resources Minister Lisa Raitt's assistant held a briefing book and a diplomatic speech. Harper cleared the air, the whole thing.

All the while, Ignatieff had Harper on the pesky lead. At his price for supporting the Conservative budget in January, Ignatieff put the Conservatives "on probation." He demanded they deliver upon their implementation of the budget in March, June and September. Each time the government would face a confidence vote in the Commons. Each time, if it lost there would be an election. Ministers and ministers had the Con version reading. A new Liberal leader held the whip hand. Even the just visiting admiral wasn't keeping the Liberals from creeping into a lead over the Conservatives.

Harper made the best show he could of what, in hindsight, the inevitable was. He released his usual "probation" speech in an elaborate show in Cambridge, in southwest Ontario. The report claimed 80 per cent of stimulus measures were being put into effect on the way to being spent—a politically broad measure of success. Now, the Conservatives were sure, Ignatieff would have an excuse, while seeking to put the blame on Harper.

Indeed the Liberal leader strolled, dazed in an endless, dispirited, Montreal square, figuring how to answer to gain time after questions before telling reporters he would lead Harper's region overnight and get back to them.

This was a Thursday. On Friday, the Libs made out a news release saying he'd take the weekend before saying anything. On Monday, he had the second news conference, a mix of bluster and pleading. He didn't want an election. But if Harper wanted to avoid one, he needed to give Ignatieff more time to re-invent his party. Ignatieff wanted a more generous EI system, he wanted to know how much of that stimulus money was spent, he promised, he wanted to know how Harper planned to get out of the huge deficits he had dug at the opposition's demand, and he wanted to know how the government would replace spending in the stimulus.

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PAUL Champagne worked for over a decade at the Department of National Defence, and embezzled more than \$10 million a year.

# CHAMPAGNE WISHES

**He stole \$100 million, and lived like a king. Then it all fell apart.**

**BY STEVE MARCH** • The expense will tell you that most frauds start small—maybe a few hundred bucks produced here, a little screwing Fudge there—and get gradually bigger over time as the drift wears to the cash, and grows confidence. That's the way it almost always goes. But Paul Champagne was not your typical fraudster.

For one thing, Champagne had no particular expertise in finance. He was a computer engineer brought in to maintain maintenance contracts at Canada's Department of National Defence in 1982. He won a technical authority, who could tell the brassies how to buy, operate and maintain their computer systems more efficiently, and to save the taxpayer money in the process. (For most of his time at DND, he would've even been an employee, but an outside contractor.) And, up until the day he was fired in 1993, most of his colleagues thought he was doing a great job

then when he was fired, it was for exceeding his authority in approving contracts that were beyond his purview.

His theft wasn't detected until shortly thereafter. And when a theft it was, an insidious \$100 million had been levied from DND through a phony money-losing joint that ran for under a decade. Every year he supplemented his \$80,000 salary by about \$10 million—one of the longest running and biggest frauds in Canadian history.

Champagne recently sat down with Maclean's in a small, windowless room at the enormous security Pittsburgh International, just outside Kingston, Ont., in a little time-expense contract interview. He'd had just passed a year in prison, and was a little less than two months away from his early release date—June 1. He wanted to tell his story. To make it clear that he was not responsible for when he did, to whom he resorted, especially for when he did, to others offstage (though he has been caught by—just you, "I apologize to the Canadian taxpayer." But there was a warning, too, in that he says that much money came from under the nose of the Canadian taxpayer, getting way with over \$1 billion

a decade ago easier. And it's all rooted in the way that government departments reward those who spend their budget, and punish those who do not.

PAUL CHAMPAGNE was hired to clean up a mess, and clean it up he did. It was 1992, and he was an IT specialist with a company called Montreal Engineering. When DND put out the call for someone to help manage the department's systems maintenance contracts, Champagne's firm offered its services, and won the bid. At the time, DND was spending around \$22 million a year on over 2,000 separate contracts. Champagne's big innovation was to declare that DND would henceforth pay to fix only systems and equipment that were broken. Eventually, he was rapping up a couple thousand extra warranties, and noting that the government would save a bundle. He was right. Maintenance costs soon fell by more than three quarters to about \$4 million a year. Over the course of the 1990s, Champagne's simple retrenching used the government's will over \$1 billion

PHOTOGRAPH BY JAMES GOURLEY

He was a 34-year-old father of three young children, a strong, decent, middle-class living, doing contract work for the government. But he quickly became a star. Though he had no financial signing authority, Champagne earned a reputation as the DND's go-to man in Canada's military bureaucracy, penning over \$100 million in sprawling computer infrastructure. That first winter, as the government's year-end approached, Champagne learned about the games that happen when bureaucrat rush to spend the last of their budgets. What he soon discovered was that bureaucrat live in almost as much fear of under-spending their budgets as they do of overrunning them. Budgets that aren't spent get cut, and nobody wants their budget cut. Champagne became known as the guy who could spend vast sums quickly. When you had a million bucks that pushed to get rid of, he was the guy who could make a cheap-out—on software upgrades, licenses, anything intangible and related to technology that you didn't need, and didn't understand anyway—but that very last year he ran into a wall. "I reached a point where I just didn't have any more I could spend out," he recalls. "I couldn't move the money out the door fast enough anymore to meet the goals of the department."

He came up with a plan. If DND was so desperate to spend money, he thought of a perfect place to snuff it: his parkers.

A friend in government would call it a sample file involving scheme—charging DND for work that was never performed. But in a non-criminal it can get a little confusing. And that confusion is what helps fraudsters go undetected.

Champagne set up his own consulting company, and approached another small Ottawa-area engineering firm, JMC Systems. He asked JMC to function as his billing and accounting department for work he was doing for DND. He and his work was secret, decked out with names of national defense, and he used accounts to process his payments. Meanwhile, he approached a much larger DND contractor, Digital Equipment. (It was later acquired by Compaq Computer, which was finally acquired by Hewlett-Packard.) He told officials at Digital Equipment to pay any amount that came from JMC, and to just along the ears to him at DND. All of this sounds pretty suspicious, but Champagne

had one of these firms ever charged with a crime.

Once the tsunami on the stock market of dollars began flowing into Cham pagne's account at the Bank of Nova Scotia, "at that point I committed myself that it was well worth the names," he says. "I was saving DND \$157 million a year." <sup>10</sup> Said, "Okay, I'm probably taking \$10 out for a pair, that's GST." I convinced myself I knew what was best for everybody. They would call it a God-com plan, I guess."

Pretty soon, the thirty-something man was living, if not quite like a god, then certainly like royalty.

A KEY PROBLEM for any thief is how to handle their loot like way that will avoid detection. Here again, Champagne proved he wasn't your typical robberbar. He decided the best way to hide his wealth was to make it viral. Once

**'I WAS SAVING DND \$157 MILLION A YEAR, AND WAS TAKING \$10 MILLION A YEAR. I FIGURED I WAS WELL WORTH IT.'**

around town, RMC, and Digital Equipment that it was all part of the department's streamlined. And besides, both can parents would be proud for their trouble. "I can be pretty convincing," Champagne says now.

So, Champagne submitted false invoices to RMC. RMC paid Champagne, added a small commission and passed the bill on to Digital Equipment (and later Compaq, then HP). The larger company paid RMC, added its own commission and sent the bill to DND and to DND. Paul Champagne made sure HP got paid. It was a fat little money train, with one obscure DND executive at both the beginning and the end. But suddenly at EMC, or Compaq, or HP ever see the full picture. Once the race was finally exposed, all of the companies claimed that they had been duped,



his years at

DND, Champagne drove this car (the Ford Mustang). He took trips to Vegas and elsewhere on private jets.

After moving into a general residence in a gated community outside Ottawa, built on two acres, with tennis courts, a pool and a private gym, it was a fat little money train, with one obscure DND executive at both the beginning and the end. But suddenly at EMC, or Compaq, or HP ever see the full picture. Once the race was finally exposed, all of the companies claimed that they had been duped,

IN THE late 1990s Champagne visited the Turks and Caicos, and decided to build a种植 tree.



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cos abroad, and fell in love with the place. Chagnéau's daydream spot over 10,000 miles flying distance to Provence, France to build houses had one big drawback: in 2004, he moved his family to the island, realized his looks had faded, and spent most of the next three years sowing back and forth to his job in Ottawa, spending weekends in the Caribbean.

If anyone asked, he told them he'd made successful investments in the stock market, specializing on high tech companies. It was the same story for everyone, including his wife and extended family. But few people asked questions.

"Somewhere along the line—and it wasn't like an epiphany of a moment—I said, 'I'm not going to pretend I'm living a nice Bridlewood home and I don't have any money,'" he says. "I didn't hide my wealth from anyone. I didn't make it in anyone's face at work, but most of them knew that I was well off." Chagnéau was hiding all the evidence of his tribe in plain view, and he figured that may have actually reduced suspicion.

"Because I was so blatant,

CHAMPAGNE's mansion outside Ottawa was built on two acres. He had tennis courts, a pool and two convertibles.



## 'I DECIDED I WASN'T GOING TO HIDE IN SOME BRIDLEWOOD HOME AND PRETEND I DIDN'T HAVE ANY MONEY'

when it... you can less question... been with my wife. [she thought] I made great high-tech investments and I've an extremely well paid consultant on National Defence. That part is not that difficult to sell."

The presence of the jaded and the sober, combined with his ever-untiling blarney, took a toll. Aside from the demands of running much of DND's huge IT operations, there were fire-fighting investments and proposals to examine. And, of course, every March there was a whole list of money to funnel into his bank account from defence because, still, Champagne says he never really worried about getting caught. "I actually thought I was never that everybody anyway," he says. "Because I'd say to myself, 'Okay [there's] \$3 million I should call a day'—because, for one thing I couldn't think of an exit strategy from National Defence."

There were concerns, however, when certain people in the department would ask two burning questions. These raised concerns about the armed ranks of year-end spending, and they seemed never to have a bad guy. "There was

work. Those people made him uncomfortable, so he took visitors into his own hands, using his connections in Ottawa's high tech industry. "There were people who didn't understand the bigger picture, they were too bureaucratic, they were going to cause problems for the year-end, etc., etc. They just didn't... they didn't get it," he says. "So I had a couple of people involved, [and] I informed our [the Department of] National Defence."

This kind of meddling might provoke an attack of conscience in most people, but Champagne never saw himself as a bad guy. "There was

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The government demanded a full investigation from Hawley, backed off all the results

certainly higher where, looking in the mirror, you think 'Jesus... what have you got yourself into?' But truthfully, while you're in the middle of all that, you feel like you're saving the world. There's no time to be saying, 'It's this extremely straightforward thing to do.' I knew if I dropped the ball, I could face criminal charges. But in your mind you're really thinking, 'That's not gonna happen because this could be a massive government scandal. Who would care that?'

So, the money kept rolling in come along. Until the day it came off the rails.

**PAUL CHAMPAGNE** knew how to beat an audit. He'd deal with many of them over his time in government. But he could not deal with these auditors.

"According to [the] 2003, I got hit by a perfect storm," he recalls. "Consulting Audit Canada was in the middle of a regular audit. Our own audit organization within National Defence was overseeing the insurance contract. Then Hawley, Parkard, went along in search of that insurance contract. They brought in KPMG, and I knew I could not control that one. I remembered in my region trying to control the flow of these three separate audits, saying, 'I gotta figure an exit strategy pretty quickly here. This is not going to go well.' I was called in eventually by my supervisor or in the National Defence. At that point I knew it was over."

Initially, Champagne was disoriented, not for lacking money, but for approving contracts for which he had no authority. But he knew that as soon as he was out of the building, the auditors would turn up to his office. "They just didn't get it," he says. "So I had a couple of people involved, [and] I informed our [the Department of] National Defence."

The kind of meddling might provoke an attack of conscience in most people, but Champagne never saw himself as a bad guy. "There was

leverage contracts that had flowed through the company and its predecessors over the past decade. Hawley finally talked, saying that it had been舞弊的, saying that it was舞弊的. He soon gave the government a cheque for \$145 million, and launched a series of lawsuits against Champagne and others implicated in the scheme, to recover its losses.

At this point, Champagne faced a difficult decision. He was setting up a tropical paradise, with no constraints to his bank account. "I've got time and time and money, and if worse comes to worst I could hire lawyers right the far as I want," he remembers thinking. "I can pay the lawyers 'til the day I die and, you know, there's very little Canada can do about it." But that is when Champagne's story takes its final surprising turn: he had an aha! of conscience. He knew that, over the years, many unnecessary bureaucracy at DND had relentlessly interfered in his attempts to fix his fraudulence. He knew that in the scandal exploded, those people would be grilled by police. Careers would certainly be destroyed. It was entirely possible, he thought, that innocent people could end up doing jail time. For his career, even though they had been duped. "Everything kind of fell on me," he says. "I thought, 'I can't do this. I just can't, and I can't have this burden over my neck.' Because if I did with it, it'd go away eventually. Whatever sentence they gave me will eventually end. You can only take someone money away from you, you can only give me so much time. So I came back."

Then came the difficult conversation with his wife, explaining the extent of his troubles and the fact that he would likely have to go to jail. "She understood what a polar bear... meant," he admits. "I had three kids, who were teenagers by then, there wasn't much easier."

By the time he landed back in Ottawa in the summer of 2004, Champagne was a minor and easily forgotten in scheme, a bit of political scandal. He took until February 2006 before he was charged.

He co-operated, apologized, took full responsibility, pleaded guilty, and in April of last

**AT THE TIME** Champagne returned to Canada, his scheme had become a political scandal. He pleaded guilty and got a seven-year sentence.



## HE COULD HAVE DODGED PROSECUTION IN HIS ISLAND PARADISE, BUT CAME BACK INSTEAD

grocery store (he was manager of dry goods) by 6:30. He was paid \$1,350 per day. The toughest part, he says, was knowing that his family was suffering more than he.

"I missed my [child's] 18th birthday, I missed her high school graduation. I missed my son's 1st birthday. My father is in law brain, he's been had to be put into a nursing home. My mother in law was diagnosed with cancer. I missed my 50th birthday, my wife's birthday, my 25th anniversary, and my mother died—all within this year," he says. "I'm in a place where they find you, they take care of you, you're safe. My wife's had to sit with all that by herself." Still, the steady job, and on June 5, he would be coming home, he was granted early release after serving six of his ten years. Currently, he's in Ottawa and halfway home, pondering the big question: what now?

In his optimism and optimism, Champagne imagines he might create a happy ending for himself as Frank Abagnale Jr., the former con man who became an expert on investigating fraud. (Leonardo DiCaprio played him in the biopic *Catch Me If You Can*. But really, his hopes are modest and largely undefined. "I'm 51 years old, and I'm high profile," he says. "But I gotta get back to work." He never misses a chance to remind you that he's sorry. Sorry for he did, and sorry for what he lost too.

"I certainly miss the job, and I miss the respect that comes with that job," he says. "It's a lot better being rich than not rich. Oh, a definitely. Whether I'm rich or not, I probably rich. And I have to realize I'll always be involved in a little trouble. I certainly have come past over the other people who were affected... and my family."

And because he knows the world will always wonder, he states categorically that there is "no pot of gold waiting out there," no secret stash of money to be scooped up when no one is looking. On that point, like so many others, you just have to take Paul Champagne's word for it.

## HAIRY WORDS FOR THE RCMP

"It's an inexcusable act of betrayal and cover-up. Antisocially, for an institution for which we expect so much, the senior leadership is discrediting it. To a point where people really have to wonder: have we going down the管?"—Lieutenant-Colonel Mark Halland, an ex-RCMP who coordinated some small RCMP offices three years before a two-year that Mousavi discussed during his trial before their deadly encounter with Polish immigrant Robert Golek.

PHOTO COURTESY OF NATIONAL DEFENCE

## The worst roads in Canada?



**Nova Scotians say their province is No.1 for bone-jarring rides**

**BY TOM HENKESCHER** • Nova Scotia's roads are in such rough shape that they're drawing environmental activists. Australian Chris and Elspeth Clark have logged over 70,000 km in a year-plus quest to drive around the world in a homemade buggy. They've been through every type of terrain in Asia, Europe and the Middle East. Now they're heading across Canada, and they don't believe what driving was like in Nova Scotia. "The roads were up and down and bumpy," says Chris Clark. "There are better stretches of road in Mongolia."

While the Clarks have gotten some flak for deriding the province's road conditions, many Nova Scotians think their criticism is well placed. Virgin Rail started a website dedicated to fixing the roads in Colchester County. She says people in rural areas are so common that drivers must reasonably assume to avoid damaging their cars, costing danger for motorists, drivers and passengers. "I can't imagine Nova Scotia's roads getting ruined anything but fast," she says. "I just can't see another province being worse than that."

But the Clarks think the province can do better, but officials say Nova Scotia's climate makes the situation almost hopeless. "We get worse air from the Catholics and freezing air from the Arctic. We get a lot of freeze-thaw cycles here that really give us a beating in the winter," says Peter Hackett, Nova Scotia's manager of highway climate. He understands people's frustration, and says the province is always trying to make roads better with a program introduced in 2007 that looks at every road and prioritizes repairs that lead to following through. "If they say they're doing that for over a year, I'm not seeing many results," he says. "But maybe I'm living in an area that's far off the map."



**St. Paul the Apostle**  
can allow married priests who convert

## Meet the priest—and his family

**BY KATIE INGELHART** • A Prince Edward Island man is set to become the province's first married Catholic priest. Marion Carter, a former Anglican deaconess, will be admitted to the Catholic priesthood in August. Currently, the Roman Catholic Church does not accept the ordination of married men. P.E.I.'s Bishop Yves Pouliot explains that Carter, who is married and has three sons, "had to petition the Holy Father—the Pope—for permission", the whole process took almost four years. And Pouliot stressed that Carter's case was exceptional. "In the Catholic Church, we do not ordain married men. [This] does not mean that permission will be given tomorrow to every married man to be ordained."

Still, Timore Scott, a Catholic priest who is also president of St. Joseph's College in Edmundston, says the ordination of married men has been happening for 15 or 20 years—but quietly. And, Scott says, the n'ts a crush. The exception to the Church's rule of celibacy for priests is only made for men who were priests or deacons in other Christian denominations—Anglican or Lutheran, for example—and then converted to Catholicism. An Anglican who is both Catholic and married never becomes a priest. "It's not celibacy," he explains. And every case needs the approval of the Vatican.

Scott splits the case version of Anglican priests who Catholicism is part of a broader trend among younger Anglophones that traces with their church more liberal priests. In particular, he says, many Anglican priests are ordaining women and performing blessing services for homosexual couples, and he believes drivers in the mainline Roman Catholic Church. So what do the inventors of the recently converted priest? "We have made a survey that the people I have spoken to in the shopping malls are related hardships can happen in the Catholic Church," claims Bishop Pouliot. "A lot of people see the Church as being very rigid, but that's not always the case."

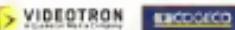
## Teaming up to beat the Tories

**BY NICHOLAS BÜHLER** • When federal New Democrats—and some Greens, under a Liberals for Linda banner—drove past Linda Dawson in Edmundston, New Brunswick last fall, it wasn't political that won over voters. "Most of us couldn't tell you the difference between cap and trade and carbon taxes," says Alan Fukukawa, an Arthurian University prof who campaigned for the NDP candidate instead. The team presented stats showing how Dawson was twice the number of votes in 2006 as the Liberal "Whooopiepiest," says Fukukawa, "so that they could beat the Tory." Robbin Jaffee—the Tory in question—is no longer in Parliament. And Fukukawa, of Alberta's Democratic Renewal Project (DRP), hopes the same approach will work for Alberta's new electoral politics, dominated by the Tories for 60 years. The group proposes a more cooperative strategy among opposition parties and has identified aby-election in Calgary Glenmore this fall in a possible first race.

The group does emphasize what already appears to be a right turn. Abandoned by former deputy premier Ron Stevens for a judgeship last month, Glenmore opened up just an extraordinary leadership around the Wild Rose Alliance, a right-wing party benefiting from growing conservative anger over Premier Ed Stelmach's policies and appended oil and gas royalties. Paul Horsman, Wildrose's former leader, will run as will popular city councillor Diane Colley-Ungaroff, a Tory.

The DRP is backing Avalon Roberta, a Liberal who finished a healthy second in the last two elections. The campaign isn't perfect—the NDP will run a candidate, the Greens will not—but the race may echo the Calgary Elbow by election of 2007, as a pure Liberal win. This time, the Wildrose will siphon votes from the Tories. Yet the fact the NDP retains to play ball shows a sign of what the group's Paul Elizur, a law prof who has been self-taught for the NDP, calls "the necessity of adult leadership." The NDP and the Liberals share much and overlap well in the Soviets, if only they joined forces. Thus the Alberta Tories prevail.

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**Ken Stein**

Member CPAC Board of Directors  
Senior Vice President,  
Corporate and Regulatory Affairs  
Shaw Communications Inc.



**Philip B. Lind**

Vice-Chair CPAC Board of Directors  
Vice-Chairman  
Rogers Communications Inc.

A visionary who led the cable industry in its push to have DTH licensed as a full-fledged service, Stein has held a series of senior positions in the Federal Telecommunications Commission including Associate Deputy Minister and served twice as Vice-Chair. For the past 15 years he has been a key member of the Shaw Communications team that has led in the growth of telecom, Internet, satellite and telephone services across Canada. Stein has been a strong advocate of taking CPAC beyond the chamber to expand the coverage of issues and issues committee and to put CPAC in the lead during elections.



**Maynard**

Member CPAC Board of Directors  
Vice-President, Corporate Affairs,  
Cogeco Inc.



**Édouard Trippanter**

Member CPAC Board of Directors  
Vice-President, Regulatory Affairs,  
Cogeco Inc.

An experienced regulatory lawyer with over two decades of broadcasting and television experience, including two years with the CRTC's legal department, Trippanter has been a member of CPAC's Board of Directors since 1999. Currently Vice-President of Cogeco's Corporate Affairs, his regulatory law career includes a long career working in telecommunications.



**Jim Deane**

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Rogers Business (División L.P.)  
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# HOW TO HELP IRAN

**As the regime cracks down, the opposition is looking for support—but not interference**

**BY MICHAEL PETROZ** • Barack Obama began his presidency with a speech that emphasized a new relationship between the United States and Iran. "So those who cling to power through corruption and deceit and the silencing of dissent, know that you are on the wrong side of history," he said during his inaugural address, and then added, "that this will stand as a test if you are willing to unleash your fist."

Now Obama has his answer: Iran will not unleashing its fist.

The past two weeks have seen a massive series of protests in Iran by hundreds of thousands of citizens who are not willing to accept the offical results of a presidential election in which incumbent hard-liner Mahmoud Ahmadinejad had declared the winner.

The results were announced before all the votes could have been counted and were endorsed by both unselected supreme leader, Ayatollah Ali Khamenei, and the Interior Ministry's final numbers. They showed Ahmadinejad winning in the regional and other swing-bits of his race, or former candidate Mir Hosseini Mousavi. They are not plausible.

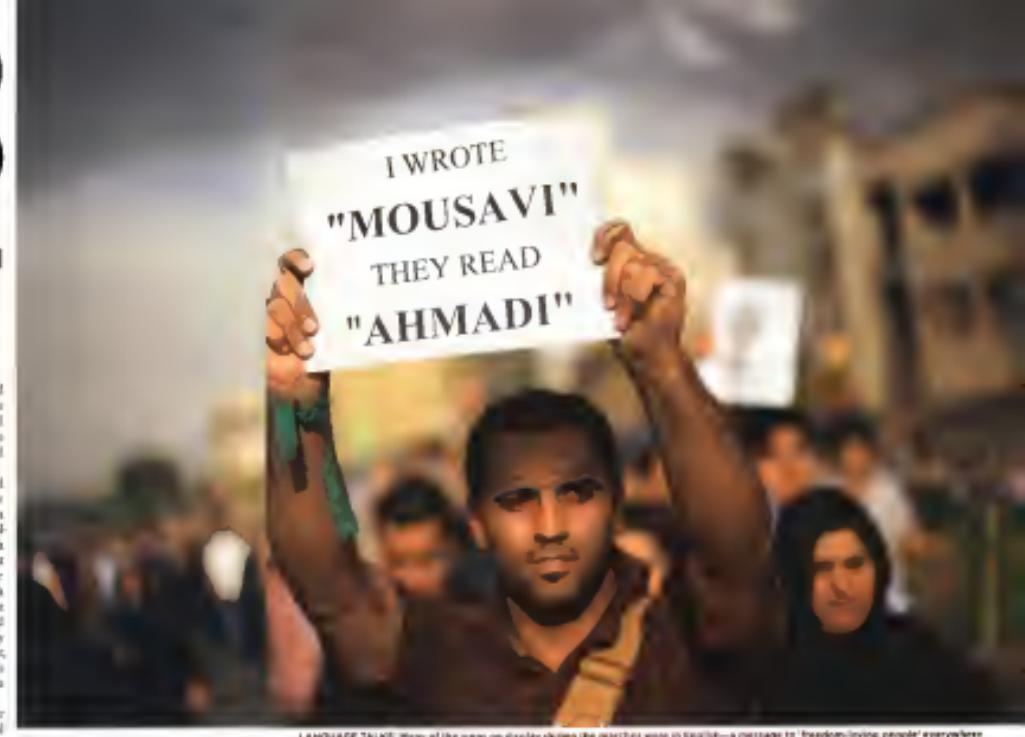
The Iranian regime has tried to ignore the protests. Ahmadinejad has compared demonstrators to soccer hooligans, and Khamenei claimed the results were fair. But when protesters flooded the streets in numbers that have not been seen since 1979 Islamic Revolution, with the support of powerful political figures such as former presidents Ali Akbar Hashemi Raf-

sanpour and Mohammad Khatami, they could no longer be discounted. Iran was at a crossroads. Its government could bend to the will of the people, order new elections, and try to portray some sort of legitimacy; or it could crush them.

Inah theocracy does not suppress. It turned demonstrators and even members of the paramilitary Islamic Revolutionary Guard Corps into stormtroopers dorms and shooed students off hallways. Police and Basij charged through peaceful crowds on motorbikes and beat them with clubs. They shot to death another who was killed in least 17 demonstrators, though reports from Iran from the ground suggest the vast majority of victims higher. Wounded protesters arriving in hospitals were quickly treated and then sent elsewhere to recover, as the pro-regime Revolutionary Guards provided hospital corridors, looking for patients with punctured wounds.

Mousavi, once a loyal participant of the founder of the Islamic Revolution, Ayatollah Ruhollah Khomeini, has replaced his image of a moderate reformer by openly defying Khomeini's successor, Khamenei. He has urged his supporters to continue their demonstrations and proclaimed himself ready for military showdown. Khamenei, who warned Mousavi that he will be held responsible for "bloodshed, violence, and rioting," could now be used to the Iranian people's leader, supposedly above the mundane give of politics. No longer does his legitimacy rest in a Ahmadinejad's grip on power. The divide in Iran is not only between the government and the people, but also within the political establishment itself.

The pro-revolutionary Green Movement vowed to "firmly confront any revolutionary way masters and those who violate the law."



Scenes of the protest are young, but even those without memories of the events will know that the last time such revolutionary青年 was dispensed, in 1988, thousands of political prisoners were hanged.

And yet no other side shows any sign of giving in. Demonstrations take place almost every day, and at night Iranian shahs even literary slogans from their riotings while they stalk the streets below trying to determine where the state is coming from.

It is impossible to tell how this will end. It scallops out, though, that Iran will never be the same again. There is no returning to the way things were before the election. Iran will move toward liberty or sink deeper into despotism. The decision will either or they

will be taken here. The question for Barack Obama, and for other world leaders, is what, if anything, they can do to influence which of these outcomes is more likely.

**B**arack Obama, unlike his predecessor, George W. Bush, never pushed the idea of regime change in Iran, nor did he in his new visioning the kind of pro-democracy model that two-care activists demand above for years.

His response so far has been restrained. On Tuesday, after facing mounting criticism, he did say he was "appalled and outraged" by the regime's account. But he had endorsed Mousavi or explicitly described the elections

as fraudulent, replacing this. Instead, he wants to give the Iranian government an incentive to blame the United States for the uprising instead; he has said that the United States should make those Iranian who are seeking their "universal" rights to freedom of speech and assembly, and quoted Martin Luther King: "The arc of the moral universe is long, but it bends toward justice."

Obama and King was correct, and he's probably right. As Feyyaz Ahmadi, a professor of international law at McGill University, told *Newsweek* last week, while he's happy the former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, he knows of a chain of events that now convinces the Islamic Republic is crumbling. The millions who have taken to the streets in recent weeks

are not going to forget their grievances, and governments that are not legitimate don't last forever.

But some analysts believe there is more to the United States agenda. Dan Senor, a fellow at the Council on Foreign Relations and a former foreign policy adviser in the George W. Bush administration, says the United States should endorse Mousavi. He acknowledges that Mousavi, a former prime minister, is probably right. As Feyyaz Ahmadi, a professor of international law at McGill University, told *Newsweek* last week, while he's happy the former Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev, he knows of a chain of events that now convinces the Islamic Republic is crumbling. The millions who have taken to the streets in recent weeks



lyical is larger than life.<sup>1</sup>

Senior says the United States should try to contact Mousavi and other opponents (or their family members, should they be jailed) to acknowledge their struggle, express concern for their safety, and offer assistance. He says that Mousavi may decide that any contact with the United States would be harmful and refuse the call, but he argues that the message should still be made.

Senior sees a model for supporting the Iranian reformist movement in the 2004 Orange Revolution in Ukraine, in which sugar election results were overturned by a mass pro-democracy uprising. Senior even took place in Georgia and Serbia. While American NGOs helped opposition parties and movements behind the scenes, the United States also applied more overt diplomatic pressure, helping Fauzeh American engage directly in the government's legitimacy.

The success of these pro-democracy uprisings as worked Iran that in September 2007 Khamenei appointed Gen. Mahmoud Alavi-Jafary head of the Revolutionary Guards. Jafary was previously in charge of the Revolutionary Guards' Strategic Studies Center, and under his supervision the center investigated three so-called "Velvet revolutions" in place like Ukraine and Georgia with the goal of preventing something similar from happening in Iran. He took that lesson to his new post as leader of the Revolutionary Guards and established special brigades within the Revolutionary Guard to put down internal uprisings.

We have fully seen Jafary's program among the Iranian mangers in Tehran. The Iranian government has also increased outside powers of controlling the protesters, through their is no evidence this is true. For Senior, this is

QAHAMI once asked Tehran to "make nice in its fist." Now the regime has given its answer.

the demonstration that followed. Two of his Iranian friends told him how appealing it would be to many Iranians if, like our own revolution now, once all the dust had died down, they saw reform on their television and see Obama sitting around a negotiating table with Ahmadinejad, as if the vote rigging and the shooting of protesters never happened.

**T**hree years ago, Alireza Ganji, one of Iran's most prominent democratic dissidents, wrote a "Letter to America" that was published in the Washington Post. He expressed his fear that the Iranian government would seek a deal with the United States in which it would make concessions about its nuclear program if America would turn a blind eye to Iran's repression of its own people.

"In Iran, we hope to achieve our goal of a new policy and a new constitution not by violence but by following a peaceful and democratic path," he wrote. "And this struggle we need moral support from all law-abiding people around the world—particularly the United States. We ask that in shaping its policies toward the Iranian regime, the United States not overlook the norms of Iranian civil society."

The fact that so many of the signatures on this open-letter from an exiled Iranian in 2007 are today on stage in English suggests that they, too, when they need support of the United States and other "freedom-loving people" around the world. Keshavarzian, who took part in the post-election demonstrations, says there are efforts among Iranian democrats to go global in other countries, but not necessarily with foreign governments.

"Iranians realize that these governments have limited resources and limited leverage with the Iranian government," he said in an interview with Michaela Jenkins, Iranian bus driver, for example, will seek the support of their counterparts in Budapest, London, or Berlin. "The strategy is to get civil society relationships established with the outside world, to create solidarity with like-minded organizations."

Alireza reached out to one of the Iranian protesters, Zohra, a 25 year old university student, with the help of Arash Jafari, an Iranian journalist who has recently moved to Canada, and asked her what she and her fellow protesters wanted from the outside world, and especially from the United States. She said she hoped Obama wouldn't recognize Ahmadinejad as Iran's president, but she's won't America to interfere in Iran. She doesn't see the difference than other countries, because Iranians to end it on their own.<sup>2</sup>

## CRITICS SAY WASHINGTON DOESN'T WANT TO JEOPARDIZE POSSIBLE NUCLEAR NEGOTIATIONS

all the more reason for the United States to back the opposition—it will be blamed for the current state regardless of what it does, so it might as well support an even more democratic movement.

He cautions, however, that support is different than intervention or intervention. "This reform movement is happening on its own," he says. "We are not helping the Iranian people stand up and make their lives. They're already doing that. This is not a movement that we are responsible for. The question is are we going to support them?"

For some analysts, the answer is no. "The idea that Washington can't change a government's legacy persists whenever or where ever they happen, irrespective of the legacy or the history there, is relatively unconvincing," says Sartaj Aziz, a senior fellow at the Brookings Institution. "This is not an American story. We are not an arms in the development of Iran. We can't help it. And we can probably only have the type of people we would wish to see advanced."

Obama's position is complicated by his proposal to start directly with Iran's leadership to discuss their nuclear program. Some within his administration, such as Steven, say Obama wishes to avoid antagonizing the Iranian regime so as not to jeopardize future negotiations once the current uprising is suppressed. This is a delicate among some Iranian mangers in Tehran. As Steven, an associate professor of Middle Eastern and Islamic studies at New York University, was to say for the election and during

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ETHICS  
TENACITY  
RIGOUR  
ANALYTICS

# The health care fix

Universal care, yes; a plan like Canada's, no. What Obama wants.

**ST. LUCIA GOES BAHAMIAN** • If there is one thing Barack Obama has emphasized as he pushes for a sweeping reform of the US health care system this summer, it's that it should not end up looking like Canada's. Obama loathes the prospect of a Canadian-style "single payer" system—in which the government is in a monolithic insurance provider—especially on the table. "There are costs associated with single payer systems worldwide," he said in a speech to the American Medical Association in June 1st. "But I believe and I've taken some risk from members of my own party for this belief—that it's important for us to reform a system that will build our tradition here in the United States. So when you hear the suggestion that I'm trying to go after a government-run health care, know that, that's not where the math."

And yet. In speeches and television ads, McCallister uses wording of Canadian-style health care, referring to it as "universal," and digging up stories of Canadians who travel through long wait times to seek out care in the U.S. — as warnings of what Obamacare gives his way. Rangone, Goss, and others, though, found heretofore the subject of a speech on the U.S. Senate floor by Republican leader Mitch McConnell. The senator had said that Tooley had to wait a year to see a specialist for these painful hampered discs in his back. "Americans don't wait to end up like Fred Tooley," McConnell said and Jane fit. "They're being able to get the care they need, when they need it. They don't want to be forced to give up their privacy, their dignity or be poked around, given more treatment than that's in their care, and the outcome of their care."

What Obama says he wants is a "public option"—a government-sponsored insurance plan that individuals could choose to join if they were not satisfied with their private insurance plan, or if they could not afford one. He would provide for premium to be phased out—it would likely involve a combination of taxpayer dollars to get it started, premiums paid by individuals and businesses who choose to join, and taxpayer subsidies for those who can't afford it. The public option would help achieve Obama's two main reform goals: reducing net medical costs and widening essential coverage in a concentrated area of the market.

defenses to the Federal budget," said the letter from the heads of America's Health Insurance Plans and of the Blue Cross Blue Shield Association.

At a press conference on Tuesday, Obama discussed their argument. "Why would it be demeaning to our business?" the President asked. "If private insurers say the market place provides the best quality health care, why not the government, which they may not be doing anything, suddenly in going into the insurance business? That's not logical," that asked whether he would push a public option as a "non-negotiable" feature of a health care bill, the President left himself room to maneuver. "We are still talking in this process. We have not drawn lines in the sand either. The reform has to control costs and has to protect people in need who are being uninsured," he said. "But," he added, "we are still talking in this process."

moreover, position is that a public plan makes sense." However, he acknowledged that most other companies have a "legitimate concern" of the public plan will simply eat up off the taxpayer through so that it would be hard for private plans to compete.<sup>10</sup>

Dennis Smith, a senior fellow in health reform at the Heritage Foundation, a conservative think tank in Washington, said it's hard to imagine that a public plan would not siphon off taxpayer dollars. He accused proponents of the public option of deceiving readers. "When the debate first opened, people were very agitated and said, 'You, our objective is to get us to pay,' " says Smith. "Now they're coming to realize the American

in particular to meet the same reserve requirements as private plans. It would have certain economies of scale and advantages of lower administrative costs. But private plans will have all the same legal liabilities.

Obama has asked Congress to *match* our debate and present him with a bill to sign it into law by October. It's a short timeline for major reform—but Obama wants to move quickly while he enjoys public support, arguing that the growing cost of health care is threatening the economic recovery. He argued that an American spent over \$2 billion a year on health care—almost \$10,000 per person than the next most costly system—and within 10 years, one out of every five dollars will go toward health care. He has said the bill should achieve universal coverage, but should not contribute to the already over-chipping U.S. government deficit, which is \$1.3 trillion for this fiscal year.

For now, public opinion appears to be on Obama's side. A New York Times/CBS News poll conducted in mid-June found that 72 percent of those questioned supported a government-subsidized insurance plan that would compete for customers with private insurers. The majority said they were opposed

people would cost US \$5 million and will leave Indian people uninsured, while another 100,000 under-insured would cost US \$16.6 million. Central Government have expressed doubt that a public option could pass in the Senate. There is a strong possibility that an eventual Senate bill would show a public option in favour of a system of regional or state-level health re-insurance owned by states. Critics say they would not have same bargaining power or economies of scale as a public plan to bring down costs.

Blasio has also identified a range of areas he wants to act in the health care system, among them his own insurance plan and helping people based on pre-existing conditions. He has also called for a range of new spending, for such initiatives as preventive care, as well as for a range of studies to analyze the effectiveness of treatments and tests. As part of his budget proposal, he wants to give the President the authority to bill over 10 years on Health Reserve Fund. More than half of that is supposed to come from limiting tax deductions for the wealthy. As a result, he is looking for a variety of savings cuts in existing programs or health spending. However, he has not yet decided to propose changes in Medicare in a country where legislation leads to more "defensive" medicine, such as the range of extra norms and restrictions.

Whether the public option will survive the insurance-exchange premiums—and how well Obama will fight for it—will probably become clear sometime in the fall when makers begin the arduous task of ironing House and Senate bills. Then we will see if the administration can honestly believe to get a compromise they will be “very” well satisfied. But Obama must be confident that he can succeed in raising health care costs and increasing the federal budget, something that eluded Clinton decades ago. Already, the President was an agreement to let the pharmaceutical companies raise their drug prices in exchange for the health

he says by this billion over the next 10 years by offering lower prices for seniors' care. At a June 22 press conference announcing that deal, Obama was buoyant enough to add an old saying from his presidential campaign. "Yes, we can!" he said. "We are going to get this done." ■

**Public opinion is on his side: 72 per cent support a government-run plan**

polka, doesn't want that. Now they are trying to hide what they are trying to do and

**ARGENTINA/ GUEVARA STRIPS FOR REVOLUTION**  
The socialist image of Cuban leader Che Guevara has come to life in a textile tribute. Soon, Chen 26-year-old granddaughter Li Yen Guevara will symbolic revolution, too—the “reggaeton revolution” which she promotes in a new PETA ad campaign, wearing no more than a sarong made of baby carrots. The campaign, PETA’s first promoting vegetarians in South America, is set to begin in August, in Che’s birthplace of Argentina.



CONTRACEPTION: many countries are moving to provide a broad choice to all women—either pills like Canada's

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## Australia confronts racism

**BY KATHIE ENGELHARDT** After weeks of refuting allegations of Australian racism, PM Kevin Rudd may be pulling an about-face in response to a spate of violent attacks against Indian students. Rudd announced Thursday that he would consider a new set of federal laws aimed at combatting violence against overseas students. The announcement would strengthen the powers of police to respond to attacks, and also make "arresting



Indian students have been victims of violent attacks

violence" against an individual, on the basis of race, a federal offence.

It's a cause that was slow in coming. The first of the assaults—which left a 21-year-old student in a coma after he was stabbed with a screwdriver—took place over a month ago. Since then, over 40 Indian students have been injured. But Australian officials have steadfastly denied that the attacks were racially motivated. Police said the violence was random but, presumably, street crime. Indian students say "soft" targets because they were walking alone at night. Rudd swiftly dismissed race as a factor, calling the violence "just a regrettable part of global life."

That dismissive attitude is the status quo in present. It also provided a banner of unite in India, which has threatened to sour diplomatic relations between the two countries. Headlines have demanded "measures of 'carry back' " and demanded Australia's "most clever." The Australian government hopes that the new legal measures will quell the mounting anger among Indian residents. But critics charge that they could come too late. Early this year, officials launched the Domestic Australian Program in response to a mass exodus of Indians from two Sydney beaches, but ethnic clashes have still taken place. Now, as the proposed laws are being considered, Rudd wants Indian students to retain "courageous" vigilante action. ■

## The grass-eating boys of Japan

**BY KATHIE ENGELHARDT** Forbore as Japanese eaters who savor meat, shun sex, live a pacifist diet and clothing, and prefer a quiet, less competitive lifestyle. This new class of young men is taking hold in Japan as they are soothsayers—so-called "grass-eating boys"—are commonly "butchboys." The term was coined in 2006 by pop culture columnist Moto Fukazawa to describe men who challenged traditional ideas about Japanese masculinity. "In Japan, men are considered as 'resembling in flesh,'" she explains. "So I named these boys 'butchboys' because they were not interested in flesh."

They are not all that butchboys reject. Just as they disdain old-fashioned alpha males, they scoff at the mania—common to consumers of their parent generation—Gross-eating boys aren't big spenders and they don't rule flashy victories. They choose their mates over peers, prefer platonic relationships with female friends, are attentive to their appearance and have fewer career ambitions. A subsidiary of Dentsu, Japan's largest advertising agency, estimates that 10 per cent of men in their 20s consider themselves grass eaters.

That has people buzzing. Reporters chart men's spending on cosmetics and hair products and bemoan the symbolic castration that young men undergo to adolescence. Yukiya Ando, Matsushita Electric's "Webs" arm, noted that men's share of personal care in Japan is the only one that's gone up. "Withbros—a Tokyo company—has started selling men's bras," Rudd said, smiling. "What's happening to the men's market?" asked a senior critic, Takeaki Morio.

Critics charge that butchboys are the face of Japan's dug-in butchness and flagging consumer culture. As well as rejecting the masculine, mankini culture that took off during the '80s, butchboys are also a long way from the archetypal corporate company man who defined their fathers' "patriotism." Still, Japanese women aren't ready to let the grass eaters in on the party yet. Since men are prepared to be part of it, new floods of aggressive "tomboyish girls" have emerged to take charge themselves. ■



The young men, called butchboys, don't want meat

## Moscow vs. the 'million-dollar mullet'

**BY MICHAEL RAVELLES** Moscow demands Kevin hand over Yegor Chichkanov, a controversial multi-millionaire, before charges of kidnapping and extortion. Chichkanov, 35, disappeared from Russia last December just before a warrant was issued for his arrest. He surfaced on June 7 in London, where he was spotted running conspicuously as a performer of the Ballets Russes.

Chichkanov, dubbed "the million-dollar mullet" by the *Financial Magazine Russia*, was one of his country's most successful and flamboyant entrepreneurs of the last decade. (The title of a 2007 biography translates roughly as "Chichkanov: The Fl-eg Genius.") He founded the cell-phone company Success in 1997 and sold it in November 2001 for US\$1.35 billion. But along with financial success came run-ins with Moscow. In 2006, a dispute over documentation led to a government seizure of 162,000 Russian phones; all but 30,000 were returned to the company. Chichkanov claimed that butchboys had charged the number one on the market, an allegation that embarrassed the Russian government before it hosted the 2008 G8 summit.

Chichkanov's current problem dates back to 2005, when his company's chief executive was alleged to have stolen US\$1 million worth of cellphones from the company. The man was reportedly held by KGB's security force until his family was able to repay the debt. Moscow is alleging that Chichkanov was personally involved in the kidnapping.

The issue is poised to be the latest cause in an ongoing diplomatic feud between Britain and Russia. The U.K. has been granting political asylum to face of Russian Prime Minister Vladimir Putin, including KGB whistle-blower Alexander Litvinenko, who was fatally poisoned in 2006. Britain has demanded that Russia extradite the prime suspect in the case, Andrei Lugovoi, an ally of Putin, to an over-all trial in London. are former oligarch Boris Berezovsky and Chelsea soccer-leader Abramovich. No doubt Chichkanov's butch boys have been in touch. ■



Advertisement

## "Powerwalking is the perfect way to start my day!"

**NAMIK** Moscow, AGE: 51

**SYMPTOMS:** Pain and stiffness in the hip joints

**DIAGNOSIS:** Osteoarthritis (OA)

"Every morning, I lace up my runners and head out for a 4-kilometre powerwalk. I love the feeling—powerwalking gives me more energy, increases my stamina and helps reduce stress. But most of all, I appreciate the health benefits. So I was devastated when I learned that the agonizing pain I was feeling in my hips was caused by osteoarthritis, an incurable condition. I had tried pain relief medication and while it helped with the pain, my stomach reacted badly to it. So I went to my doctor, who prescribed a non-steroid anti-inflammatory medication that reduced the pain in my hips and didn't upset my stomach. Now I can walk again—pain-free! I'm back up to 4 to 4 every day and I feel great!"

For people with active lifestyles like Namik, osteoarthritis can be debilitating. It's the result of the cartilage between joints breaking down, which causes joint pain and stiffness. Osteoarthritis affects millions of Canadian adults and can cause significant disability. There's no cure, but you can manage the pain and enjoy an active healthy lifestyle. Some medications may cause upset stomach, diarrhea and abdominal pain, even ulcers, so talk to your doctor about pain medication with fewer gastrointestinal side effects.

Feel good without feeling bad!  
For more information on living with arthritis and the importance of healthy lifestyles, visit

[www.feelgoodfeelbad.ca](http://www.feelgoodfeelbad.ca)

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# AS THE GLOBE TURNS

**The Globe and Mail** came up with a plan for surviving the newspaper revolution. It didn't include its editor.

BY ANNE KINGSTON

**P**hilly Crowley is standing in his downtown Tucson office showing off the *Globe* and *Mail* at the future, which looks very much like the *Globe* and *Mail* of the present—only smaller and somewhat dour. He is a thin, 55-year-old man with dark hair and a serious, focused gaze. He is dressed in a dark suit and a light-colored shirt. He is looking directly at the camera, his hands clasped in front of him. He is standing in front of a window with a view of the city. The lighting is bright, and the overall atmosphere is professional.

Reorganized was Crowley by the technology that he signed an **18-year, \$1.7-billion printing deal with Transcontinental Inc. in August 2008**, months before the economic downturn. Assimilated advertising sales and 14-hour news cycles were replaced by Duane. In the current print media landscape the communications sector is high-stakes gamble by the self-styled "Canada's National Newspaper"—other than 21st century equivalents of inventing an entire era of the artfully technology at the turn of the 20th century or a shrewd concentration of how people will still want to read news two decades hence.

The news about newspapers of late has been bleak. Earlier this month, the New York Times Co., beset by losses, hired Goldman Sachs to sell the Times-City, which it acquired in 1991 for \$851 million. The money-losing San Francisco Chronicle, with whose Trans-

able for Canadian newspapers? Yet one-day reports suggest a similar trend.)

In the noisy "Newspapers and Publishing the Uncharitable," new media theorist Clay Shirky lays out a compelling rationale for why newspapers we know them as dying. "It makes increasingly less sense, even to talk about a publishing industry, because the core problem publishing solves—the considerable difficulty, complexity, and expense of making something available to the public—has stopped being a problem," Shirky writes.

But the British book controller, a 45-year-old Fleet Street veteran, seems confident about the future of print pressed on newsprint, even the Global Grid who are introducing systems such as *Scandit* and a *stream*. "But people don't want to get it that way," says a fact sheet another industry veteran, challenging *Scandit*. "Newspapers still have forward momentum partly because baby boomers don't want to change." Of Shirley's thesis, Cowles is dismissive. "There are a million experts on there. But not many models with a spark on 'em."

As Crowley promises it, the *Globe*, the country's ruling, also broadsheet of record, delivers from many American papers: "I've said it so a lot of advertising, don't lump us together."

we're not equal," he says. What makes the Gabe special, he avers, is its ability to deliver an alluring demographic to advertisers. That, he attributes to the paper's strong brand identity, stemming from its respected journalists and the fact it projects a wide view through Canadian eyes via a phalanx of five-city correspondence, unlike many U.S. papers which cut back on bureaus and turned to syndicated copy. He boasts of the support of its parent CTVglobemedia, a private company whose stakeholders include BCE Inc. (55 per cent), Torstar Corporation (20 per cent), Ontario Teachers' Plan Board (21 per cent), and the Woodbridge Company Limited (4), the private holding company for the billionaire Thomson family (40 per cent). Being partly owned by Canada's richest clan, who also own Thomson Reuters, is a strength says Crowley. "These people have an attachment to this country."

The paper's circulation dropped to some 295,000 copies on weekdays, and 190,000 on weekends, as of March 11, down markedly from five years ago. "We deliberately cut circulation," says the publisher, "so that the result of putting an end to giving away copies elsewhere and adding to boost circulation numbers, a legacy of the battle with the National [Union]. We're making over as much money," he says. Circulating press and online, readership is larger than it has ever been, at 2.3 million a week. The paper's fully paid subscribers base remains strong, Cusick says. "That's the gold standard,"

Still, the Globe's venerable history closing back stage hasn't insulated it from industry malaise. Revenues have held in lay-off after taking market share and careers, real estate and revenue. The paper laid off 16 staff earlier this year, its first job cuts since the 1992 recession. Last weekend, its union almost unanimously rejected a proposed six-year contract that demands wage rollback for 30 per cent of staff, a week's unpaid vacation, extended work hours without additional pay, a pension plan restructuring that would cost benefits by up to 50 per cent for future retirees, and the ability to reclassify jobs. A strike or lockout could take place at any time.

Crusoe is known to have stuck with him when he arrived in Canada in 1949 as the *Global*'s managing editor and CEO. His first task was to move off the upstart *Central Standard* headed by National Post founder publisher and CEO in 1959, by then well into the UK's *Financial Times* publications to take up the "Grey Lady of Princes Street." With him was then editor-in-chief William Thorndale, who was to select his successor in Richard Adles. That landmark is now long gone, the *Belts* renamed *home*, and the Post's current owner, *CanWest Global Communications*, is demanding re-negotiations in massive debt to avoid bankruptcy protection.

Now Crawley faces not mere war, but industry revolutions through he prefers the gentler term "turning point." The paper can no longer depend on traditional sources of revenue, he says. "People who do that will

ments this time, he has looked  
out without but within,  
offered in an unexpected  
management shakeup  
on May 21 that includes  
Jackhouse, the editor  
of the Report on Business  
section, in place  
of chief Edward  
Strickerson, along with  
repositioning of vice



PHILLIP CRAWLEY, CEO and publisher, *Globe and Mail*

presidents on the digital  
and former side

A memo sent out to staff spoke vaguely about the need for "new skills and different styles of leadership." Crowley refers to disease specific only to any one management. "To signal change at midlife, it appears valid that there's

an unusual dimension of the story provides a lens into the Gide's power structure. "It's the *lesbian* media that you personalize that," he says. "It's all about John Stachowski and his *lesbian* scrapes," says Crowley. "But the announcement is to say that, you know, things are moving fast; every department is involved."

newspaper editions" of *paratus* (it's outside of the newspaper) and that it would be slightly longer than *paratus*. And the 53-year-old Green, a dynamic man who has been in the business for 13 years had a seven-year run with the London-based business, Ottawa-based *chart*, Reprographics and founding editor of *chart* before being named editor-in-chief. His tenure will preside over "a much ballyhooed rethinks" of the magazine, which has yielded thus far that it's "not the magazine that motivates the medium, it's the medium that motivates the magazine," and a "life" section providing a "lifestyle" relationship column and a "culture" column.

became a chartering class called the Society of Insurance, along with aspects of the Globe's Kressiology as though Crowley can be—stated in the context of union negotiations. Work previously Greenspan had not previously undergone a prolonged gubernatorial election in an ongoing roles extraterritorial. At the National News

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## STORYBOOKS

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have been working at the paper for decades," says one staffer. Stackhouse is known as a Web evangelist, though his supervisor of the revamp of *Globe*'s website, a 10-year-old site that provides interactive news and portfolio tracking tools, already impressed Crowley. The 18-month project has produced skilled at writing news departments, or, as Crowley put it, "crisis functional business initiatives," another house model. The site must be April launch deadline, though there was initial groping that it was mixed up before funds had been awarded out. Crowley plans to go to *Worlwide.com* and use car site AutoClick.com, in which the Globes is part owned, as potential revenue generator.

But the former journalist also knows the *Globe*'s brand is based on the quality of its news and commentary, not its ability to sell news. He speaks of a fresh new paradigm approach at one end, Angus Fraser, recently minted VP of digital, working on the web social business solutions, at the other end, says Crowley, a Stackhouse, "whose prior focus is the creation of best quality content as well as figuring out how to deliver that content across a number of platforms."

All of this talk about "content" and "play stories," of course, blurs the fact that the bulk of a newspaper's revenue must always been, even more so in an age in which news quickly becomes old, to provide a vital and engaging link to the world by creating new stuff. And on that regard, the *Globe* is being newly tested by the founders, remained and under editor Michael Coates, who arrived from the Chicago *Sun-Times* in March. The *Star* broke the Ruby DiMillo mystery scandal and recently made a bold exclusive interview with the fugitive Guatemalan dictators who were arrested in Bermuda. The paper's also aggressively poaching talent. Last week it announced Jennifer Walk, a former NBC *World News* anchor, is returning from the *Globe*. Coates, who runs full page ads reading high of Campbell's departure, is gunning for a fight. "We'll probably as a tough news paper man who's all school I respect immensely. But he's not going to take that sitting down."

The digital revolution presents exciting possibilities for journalists, says Wayne MacPhail, a former print journalist and board member of *Mobile* or who has developed online revenue for Canadian corporations. His less optimistic about the future of the traditional newspaper. "Newspapers have been warned for more than 20 years about the Internet and did nothing," he says. "It wasn't that they were blindfolded, it's more like they were deaf blind in the Thomas Kuhn sense of not seeing data outside of your paradigm." MacPhail believes the *Globe*

is doing one of the best jobs in Canada online, primarily because of Madeline Lagrange, the paper's communications editor. But he's skeptical of the future of the paper. Likewise, understandings the innovation required to have a successful Web presence. It's not enough to reproduce a newspaper online, he points out. "They're trying to wedge old business models that should be turned into a new social media framework."

To build corporate *Post*-style newspaper model is arduous, in the challenging business of newspapers where it's hard to out another's stories. "That's heartbreakingly stupid, so opposite the *ethic* and spirit of the Web." Those factors are intertwined, the *Globe* downplayed the Ruby DiMillo

JOHN STACKHOUSE New editor-in-chief at the *Globe*

## THE ABRUPT EXIT WAS SEEN TO SIGNAL HOW TOUGH HE COULD BE

PHOTO BY ANDREW DAVIS HILL FOR TIME

is doing one of the best jobs in Canada online, primarily because of Madeline Lagrange, the paper's communications editor. But he's skeptical of the future of the paper. Likewise, understandings the innovation required to have a successful Web presence. It's not enough to reproduce a newspaper online, he points out. "They're trying to wedge old business models that should be turned into a new social media framework."

MacPhail believes an extended trial period is necessary. "Unlike the best Web-based organs, the *Globe* is anchored with historical, editorial, editorial, editorial and infrastructure," he says. To his credit, Crowley has tried to break through this. A former *Globe* senior exec for results, the publisher bringing in one of the nation's of *Champion Clear New Disruptive Innovations Will Change the Way the World Learns* to speak in the spring of 2004. It was the hot management book then, arguing that market leaders don't have the perceptual innovation to change, and men when they do, they can't respond to it because they're locked in anamorphically. That provides an opportunity for upstarts to work their way up from bottom out, rather, the classic example being Japanese carmakers in North America. One person at the *Globe* seminar asked if a top leading company had success fully reinvented its own enterprise. The answer was no. "It's like the lobster in the pot," says former employee. "You don't know what's cooking and you're done. It happens in digest."

Geoff Bourne, chairman of CTVglobemedia and president of Woodbridge, is optimistic about the *Globe*'s ability to reinvent itself and revolutionary change, but believe radical change is required. The industry has drifted too much into the business of entertaining at the expense of informing, Bourne says. A fundamental, profound shift in the way newspapers regard revenue seems necessary. "We have to see the reader as the customer, not as the advertiser as the customer," he says, citing the *Advertiser* and the *Financial Times* as major publications that have figured out the formula. Whether Philip Crowley's ad-friendly *Globe and Mail* of the future will find its way once that has become a necessary work in progress. ■

# DHILLON DOLLAR STRATEGY

## A Calgary real estate mogul with daring ideas for recovery



PETER C. NEWMAN

In this time of clusters few CEOs have the nerve to express confidence in the future, even about their own companies. Adriatic entrepreneur Navjeet "Bob" Dhillon, the Calgary real estate mogul who, in 13, spent \$15 million buying what he decided was the best bargain on the real-estate exchanges in an oil town company, Mariner Energy Corp. His buyback won't be all that much more successful because the owner of 705,000 shares—just over 17 per cent of the four-million stock offer—agreed with his assessment and decided to hold on to their investment, even though he was offering a premium over the trading price.

Determined to become Canada's first solid billion-dollar oil-and-gas company, Dhillon never loses the perception of his religion. He doesn't wear a turban, is a professional-level salaried director, expert spear fisherman and master solitaire player, and an expert racing boat at Balaton in which he sweeps across the Gulf of California harbours.

He started out buying and flipping Calgary brownstones in 1984 using his expertise and the much of his time as an oilie. Later, he turned to buy numerous apartment buildings in southern California. Doing them up and increasing the rents. After graduating as an adult student from the Richard Ivey School of Business in London, Ont., Jayneek his firm public. "We were in Calgary before it was the centre of the universe, and it was less than \$100 a barrel," he recalls. "And we went to Edmonton before the oil sands were born. We arrived in British Columbia the day before the new Liberal government came in and the economy began to really blow. More recently, we went into Saskatchewan before it became Saskatchewan."

At 41, Dhillon is equally active developing his properties in the Central American nation of Belize, which has 1,200 houses built off the coast that stretch the northern hemisphere. "I bought my first home in the Canadian West, which he now owns 150 apartment buildings.

About a year ago, before the current downturn, Dhillon decided to gear up for the next



AMERICANS ARE good at cutting their losses and creating new realities, Dhillon says.

cycle, and was one of the few Canadian CEOs who planned for downturn, though he should not know how serious it would turn out to be. His assets in 1988 were worth \$714 million, compared with \$425 million at the end of this year's first quarter. At the same time, his book value is down of more than 10 per cent in cash to take advantage of unexpected investment opportunities.

One future location for his real estate ventures could be Oshawa—despite the still severe recession south of the border. "Why did the pendulum swing the other way in fast—say three days in the whole equation or was it just truly fast enterprise increasing its map?" he asked us rhetorically during an interview in Calgary recently. "One positive aspect of the American financial system is that because we went into recession before it became Saskatchewan."

At 41, Dhillon is equally active developing his properties in the Central American nation of Belize, which has 1,200 houses built off the coast that stretch the northern hemisphere. "I bought my first home in the Canadian West, which he now owns 150 apartment buildings.

they do things," he went on. "They take for an actor. They'll think their boards, their distressed real estate, their fire sales out of the system as quickly as the economy will be to create a new generation of millionaires Americans are really good at discovering and collecting their losses, creating new balance sheets, placing new valuation on real estate, new valuations on enterprises, new valuations on everything."

He is convinced that 2009 will prove to be the year when the real estate and equity markets are going to bottom, though the nature and timing of the correction will depend on how far the markets drop. "A big threat," he continues, "is all the entities are not going to come out of the real estate. We've seen, we're going all these real segments that are going to get wiped out." Dhillon pictures the birth of a new chapter in finance and believes that the way to determine the lot will be when the banks are offering zero interest rates and some of the revised coin partners to produce higher returns through dividends and bond yields. "Losses of money is going to shift back from these companies," he says. "You'll get greater preparedness." One thing that's unique about this recession is how rapidly it's come. How rapidly of prices went from US\$100 to US\$30. The markets will come back equally as fast.

Dhillon champions one specific map that he believes could go a long way to curing the current recession because it would jump start investment. What he advocates with the passion of a true believer is elimination of the capital gains tax (half of a capital profit subject to income tax). "The elimination of capital gains tax is as opposed to lowering it or general income tax rate would be much more efficient because we are in a serious cash crunch and a red capital infusion," he maintains. "Trillions of dollars are now on the sidelines, including the forecasts of foreign bank lenders who would have an incentive for investing again in a more favorable tax climate. In my view, elimination of the capital gains tax is the only way out of this recession." ■

## KID TRAUMATIZED, TEACHER KEEPS JOB



EMPLOYEE OF THE WEEK





THE DRY BED of Australia's Murray River has dried to the verge of collapse.

# WATER FIGHTS

**Much of the world is desperately short of fresh water. Can international co-operation solve the crisis or are future water wars inevitable?**



**BY MARTIN McCAGNOLI**  
Every few days, another farmer commits suicide in Australia's Murray-Darling Basin, the agricultural heartland. Many, according to Australian evolutionary biologist Tim Flannery, haven't had any water at almost four years—in places, the allocation of irrigation water has been cut to zero. Their farms have dried out, leaving a dusty, wind-swept scrubland. Castle below, floodplain above, the situation has become "desperate at an emergency level," says Flannery. "There is no sign the situation will ever improve." Government has compiled a detailed watch list.

The world's driest and most vulnerable subtropical continent is gravely low on water. The "Mighty Murray"—Australia's Mississippi—is on the verge of collapse. In places, children can hop over it. National production of rice has fallen from a million tons annually to 21,000 tons last year, cut to 10 percent of global food prices. Cotton and cottonseed are becoming the problem. The problem is now moving into the cities. Earlier this year, the national water commission announced that, as of 2009, it could no longer

in places like Canada, one of the world's big grain water consumers.

From Tibet to Texas, hydrologists, litigators and government officials are imposing similar climate trade-offs: a longer dry season, less rain, more rain and earlier spring melt. "Half the annual flow of the Fraser now occurs in late April," says Lake Luke of the Fraser River Council, a Vancouver NGO that studies the health of the massive watershed—home to two-thirds of B.C.'s population. These shifting climate patterns are changing where, when and how water falls and flows, eroding our ability to manage water for large populations, says Meena Palaniappan, with the San Francisco-based Pacific Institute.

Take California: snowpack from the Sierra Nevada mountain range provides the bulk of its water. But even the most optimistic climate models are showing a 50 to 70 percent decline of the Sierra Nevada snowpack by the second half of the century. That's a thousand square miles down to about two-thirds of normal. By 2050, California's population will have grown to 60 million, up from 36 million today. The "exploding" human population in the U.S. Southwest and its shrinking clean water supply are clearly on the "collapsing path," acknowledges Pat May, the outspoken head of the Southern Nevada Water Authority. She oversees Las Vegas, the most vulnerable metro area on the continent, still "very much at the throes of an ugly drought," now entering its ninth year.

By contrast, Canada, with 20 per cent of the world's freshwater resources, and less than one per cent of its population, looks like the Saudi Arabia of water. China, for example, has less than 10 per cent of Canada's supply and 40 times as many people. Still, scientists warn that Canada is facing a distribution problem. Eighty per cent of the country's water resources are locked in the north, while 80 per cent of the population is packed along the U.S. border. Freshwater is scarce. More jobs, Saskatchewan and Alberta, says David Schindler, are the country's top water stressors. There, as odds, lakes were remaining even in the 20th century, the wettest century of the past millennium, according to tree ring fieldwork done by the universities of Alberta and Regina. Schindler predicts a 10-year mid-century return to "1900s, 'dust bowl' conditions—yes, even in Nunavut, land of 100,000 lakes—making a 10 to 35 per cent reduction in summer river flows as the province's 30 years.

The state of Australia is an extreme version of shortages facing the U.S. Southwest and the Great Lakes, located upstream on what may be the most transnational environmental crisis facing the world: shortages of water. For more than half, our water is run out. And unlike oil, there is no substitute. Yet, even considering high evidence that growth isn't enough to support future population and economic growth, no one seems to have a plan of year of abundance

the point when demand outstrips renewable supply, and resources trend inexorably downward. Rivers, she says, are overusing and polluting at faster than can be replenished. In the developing world, more than 90 per cent of all sewage, 75 per cent of industrial waste, is dumped untreated into surface water," says Robert Sandford, Canadian chair of the UN Water for Life initiative, noting that 75 per cent of the river water flowing through Canada comes in with its drinking or fishing. This summer, Lake Mead, the largest reservoir in the U.S., which supplies nearly all the water for Las Vegas, fell to 45 percent capacity. The Sempa Institute of Oceanography has given a 50-50 odds of returning to 2001 levels on the Sea of Galilee, the largest freshwater source in Israel—locked into five years of a devastating drought—basic failure to urban areas of the "danger line." Last year, Atlanta ran within 90 days of running out of water.

The economic picture is grim. In part, in the past two years, new power plants in four U.S. states, as well as several dozen commercial and residential development projects in California, have been canceled because developers can't find a secure, long-term water supplier. This summer, in California, approaches its fourth year of drought, up to 16,000 workers will be laid off in an 800-kilometre-long Central Valley, the country's agricultural engine. Economic losses could top a billion dollars. In Australia, they're surpassed \$20 billion.

As droughts and crises multiply, scientists have begun grappling with the dollar question of whether such shortages will push consumers—and ecosystems—to hostile tactics of water-rich and water-poor. By my reading, some of the world's most populous, troubled regions are predicted to be dangerously water scarce, including southern and central Asia, the Middle East and northeast Africa. This spring, a landmark report compiled by 24 UN agencies warned of a new future marked by war and conflict over water, sparked by collapsed water bureaucracies.

But while it is nearly popular to suggest the world's next resource war will be fought over water, and not oil, researchers at One

globe Swiss University have found reason for optimism. Of the 1.811 downstream disputes over freshwater resources in the last 50 years, 67 per cent were co-operative, while only 28 percent resulted in conflict. The Indus Commission, a water sharing treaty between India and Pakistan, not only survived two wars, but, in the middle of one, India made treaty payments to Pakistan, says study author Aaron Wolf. Shared water can set like an "elbow," bringing warring sides to the table to co-operate, he says.

Others, however, think the lookalike "asymmetrical co-operation," when terms are dictated by the stronger side, says former water negotiator Mark Izeckson, who directs international development in Iran. Consider the Nile basin, often cited as an example of malnutrition and co-operation over shared water resources. A 1959 agreement grants Egypt 87 per cent of the river's water, and Sudan the remaining 13 per cent. Ethiopia, whose highlands supply 80 per cent of Nile water, wants nothing (Egypt has threatened to bomb Ethiopia's dam should it attempt to build a dam). After a decade of "co-operation" under the auspices of the UN's funded Nile Basin Initiative, disgruntled Egyptian Egypt retains its 87 per cent share. Ethiopia still gets nothing.

Tensions are rising as shortages multiply, says Izeckson, noting mounting water conflicts along the Tigris and Brahmaputra, and intra-state conflicts in China's Yellow River and the Yellow region of Iraq. Ten Pakistani provinces—Punjab and Sindh—the last two before the Indus water before it reaches the sea—are mostly at odds over water. In India, says Izeckson and farmers here on the rapidly declining delta aquaculture have simply given up and fled to cities—water refugees. In Darfur, where rainfall is down 50 percent over 30 years, evaporating wells holes and disappearing pasture helped push farmers and herders into conflict.

Flannery has clearly shown that we solve water shortages through trade and international agreements, and not by picking up a gun. The shrillness that underlies, however, have no historical precedent. You can't buy water from a country that is afraid it is not going to have enough for its own people. ■

## CROCODILE SIGHTING DOWNS HELICOPTER

Flying over a remote beach in northern Australia, a helicopter pilot spotted a crocodile—and stalled after swooping. In her better look, dragging his injured passenger from the wreckage, the pilot learned his crew had stowed up to his neck in an effort to stave off hypothermia (they were a safe distance from the coast, one assumed). The crocodile-infested beach was "not a very good place to come down, thank you very much," one witness observed.

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# BATTLE OF THE BAG

**Is the plastic bag an environmental bogeyman or not?**

**BY PETER KRAHN TAYLOR** • It could be worse. Cathy Cark is the self-appointed person for the Sarah (not her) of Parties, or the Mosquito Invasion Association. As it is, Cark is vice-president of the Canadian Plastics Industry Association and the country's chief advocate of plastic shopping bags.

The once ubiquitous plastic bags have quickly become an environmental bogeyman. In Canada, Kark and her assault, along with concern over litter and landfills, Toronto launched the city's first municipal bylaw requiring all stores to charge a five cent per bag fee to discourage their use. Several retail chains—including Home Depot and Canada's largest grocer, Loblaws Canada Ltd.—have taken the fee nationwide. Emboldened by the speed with which this policy has moved, environmental groups are now calling day when plastic bags will seem as repellent as cigarette smoking sections: "it's taking off everywhere as people realize that's the most right thing to do," says Steven Price, the senior conservation director of the World Wildlife Fund.

Tired of the assaultable job of defending plastic bags in the face of the monomaniac, Cark has fought back with a host of independent scientific studies and government data that appear to undercut the salutary arguments made against the bags. "Even if we assume every plastic bag went straight to the dump, it would only represent 2 per cent of the 25 million tonnes we send to landfills annually," she says, citing federal and provincial documentation. And she points to a 2007 Ontario poll that found more than eight out of 10 Canadians reused their shopping bags for household garbage or pet waste.

She also cites 2006 City of Toronto street-litter audit that estimated 4.659 individual pieces of garbage at 100 sites citywide. Of this total, 10.4 per cent, or six per cent were plastic retail shopping bags. That's 0.15 per cent of total litter.

"Bags are not litter unless and they become a landfill issue," she says. "And we have the numbers to show that. Unfortunately, this has become an emotional issue rather than a debate based on facts. It is very frustrating." She argues an informed effort would be better directed towards recycling plastic rather than discouraging its use.

Glenn de Bontemps, a Toronto councillor, is the author of his city's bag bylaw. The ardent environmentalist disputes the notion that bags are a minor issue. "Nothing is insignificant," he says. "We are drowning in a sea of garbage. So we are drowning

**BASED ON EVIDENCE, A BAN ON FISHING LINE, PLASTIC BOTTLES OR CIGARETTES MAKES MORE SENSE**



**RIGHT** © Steven Price, new charge customers five cents per plastic bag

after plastic bags and we are coming after everything else that's bigger as well." From disposable coffee cups to consumer electronics, in all categories, de Bontemps argues that beyond the practical benefits of reducing landfill usage, if only by a tiny amount, his campaign is emblematic of a broader issue: "The plastic bag is emblematic of our wasteful and gluttonous lifestyle. It all has to change."

So, it's hard to argue the issue that the plastic bag causes a largely political statement. The bags, for instance, are frequently held up as the biggest blight on the world's oceans. But this month, the United Nations Environment Programme (UNEP) released

a major report on marine waste which cast garbage drifts along the Mediterranean Sea showing plastic bags accounted for just 0.5 per cent of total marine litter. Cigarettes and cigarette filters were 37 per cent, plastic bottles, 10 per cent. With respect to environmentalism of marine life, a 2007 study identified fishing nets, lines and ropes as being responsible for over 70 per cent of such incidents. Plastic bags, including garbage and shopping bags, caused less than 10 per cent. The report recommended that big use be "disengaged" in coastal areas. Instead, the executive director of the UNEP, Achim Steiner, issued a press release calling for a sweeping worldwide ban on "plastic" plastic bags. Based on the evidence, a ban on fishing line, plastic bottles or cigarette filters would make more sense.

Then there's the possibility that, regardless of the symbols, disposable plastic bags might simply be better than their alternatives. Cark also commissioned two independent labs to assess the health implications of replacing plastic shopping bags with reusable woven "grocery" bags. Bags randomly obtained from shoppers were tested for bacteria, mould and E. coli. The results were then interpreted by Dr. Richard Summerbell, the former chief of medical toxicology for Ontario.

The test found surprisingly high levels of bacteria in two-thirds of the reusable bags. One had levels above those set for safe drinking water. The fact that some people used the bags to carry items other than food—garbage or their empties—greatly increased the risk.

"This study provides strong evidence that reusable bags could pose a significant risk to the safety of the food supply if used to transport food from store to home," Dr. Summerbell concluded. He recommended that all must be double-wrapped before being placed in reusable bags and that the bags themselves be washed and disinfected regularly. None of the throwaway bags were found to be contaminated in any way.



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# JUDGING BEVERLEY

**Canada's chief justice has won respect—but not always admiration**

BY PHILIP SCATTORI

**T**he 10th anniversary of Beverley McLachlin's appointment as chief justice of Canada will come early next year, on Jan. 7, but her colleagues are already taking stock. They interestingly speak of the "McLachlin court," and try to put down ways she's changed or influenced the court's decisions. Her formal powers are limited—the most significant is determining the size of a panel (five, seven or nine judges) hearing a case, and, oftentimes, than the full complement of nine, deciding the panel's composition. But as the court's insider friend and public face, her informal ability to influence the other judges and set the tone is considerable. "To the country, and to the world, she is the Supreme Court of Canada. She is often described as the most powerful person in the land. But what do we know about Beverley McLachlin, and how has she measured up in high public office?"

There was nothing remarkable about McLachlin's life until she began her dizzying climb to judicial power. She was born in 1943, in Pender Creek, Alta. It's a town of about 3,600, two hours south of Calgary—a place with few Aboriginals or visible minorities, where almost everyone owns the house they live in. McLachlin was the first of Ernest and Hessie Grett's five children. The family worked a ranch—shepherds of sheep and a cow milch, and her parents were fundamentalist Christians, she has described them as "firmly set in their beliefs" and of "high moral value." As a child, she attended a Presbyterian church.

McLachlin speaks of a deep affection for Pender Creek and its values. She has this sense ofenvy that you were born in this very special place, even though it was remote and not very important." In a 2004 interview, she said that her small-town, old-fashioned background had a considerable effect on her

work as a judge. "I think I have a very strong sense of a connection between people and place. Underestimating that is important to the law. Much of the law has to do with where people want to be, what kind of culture they want to have, the right to freedom, geographically, culturally and so on." She has said that she thinks of her hometown every day. A painting by Robert McElroy called *Prairie Creek*, showing wheat fields and a farmhouse, hangs in her Supreme Court office.

McLachlin followed a conventional path after high school, with little along the way to suggest future eminence. She went to Edson in 1960 to study philosophy at the University of Alberta with the vague and traditional idea of becoming a teacher. In 1965, 18, in hand, she enrolled in the University of Alberta law school and, three years later, graduated at the top of her class. In between, she married Gary McLachlin, a biologist and environmental consultant, whom she met on campus. She once said: "He was the type of man who respected his own mother, treated his own wife, and his own wife."

McLachlin pursued law for just five years in Alberta and then in B.C., before joining the law faculty of the University of British Columbia as an associate professor. In April 1981, at age 37, she was appointed to the Vancouver Court of Appeal. She has acknowledged that being a woman may have helped: "Gender may have been a factor because at that time, there were very few women on the courts and they were looking for names, and there weren't a lot of women out there to choose from." This was what she began to learn French, a sensible thing to do for an Anglophone aspiring to higher office. Within just a few months, she was appointed to the Supreme Court of British Columbia. "I think I got carried along in this huge career consciousness: we have no women judges, what are we going to do about it? And if there was one that looked any too good, it was pushed one up very quickly."

By 1985, she'd been elevated to the Court of Appeal, and just three years after that, her 12-year-old son Angus packed up the phone on September 1st and took a message from the prime minister, Brian Mulroney, who was calling to offer her the job of chief justice of the B.C. Supreme Court. Three days later, her husband, Gary, died of throat cancer. "I put his career on the back burner and put more fire ... Gary did a list of the childbearing. Every time Angus had to go to emergency, it always seemed it was Gary without. It bothered us to do other things." When she accepted, Mulroney was calling again, this time to appoint McLachlin to the Supreme Court of Canada. The president of the Law Society of British Columbia, concerned that she'd made it through the court

TRULY CANADIAN: No elite background here, McLachlin is mainstream all the way



**Is she a true leader, or just an agreeable legal technocrat? The jury is still out.**

process, dinner than court case

McLachlin's first decade on the Supreme Court didn't change her characterization. Several other status-impostor judgments appealed to those on the right—the 1995 BHP (McDonald) case, for example, where she held that a federal ban on asbestos advertising was an infringement of the right to self-expression. But many of her judgments were attractive to the left—the 1996 *Vriend* decision, for instance, in which she said that the 1978 Charter of Rights and Freedoms required Alberta human rights legislation to protect gay rights. She was not afraid to dissent, as an academic study found that her first decade she agreed with the majority less than half the time. Some considered her a judge with a soft, non-orthodox, even progressive, view of the law, but all agreed she had power, conviction and a sense of humor whose "warmfuzzy sense of humor are awesome." She was even described as "photogenic," conductive to the first chief justice to receive this compliment.

McLachlin's appointment was widely heralded, particularly by the legal community, which is traditionally sympathetic to these decisions. She was described as "the ideal person for the job," wise, energetic, sophisticated, pragmatic, loyal, unfailingly polite, open-minded and a someone whose "warmfuzzy sense of humor are awesome." She was even described as "photogenic," conductive to the first chief justice to receive this compliment.

haters believed that Justice Frank Iacobucci, considered the most liberal leader of the court, would have been a better choice, and that once again simple gender had triumphed.

In 1992, McLauchlin married lawyer Frank McCarde, who now runs a high-end continuing education conference for Canadian lawyers every year in Cambridge, England. McCauley has been described as "a cheerful, semi-retired extrovert, who's completely supportive of her success." Her proposal to McLauchlin over an airport public address system on a flight to England: "This would not have been to everyone's taste, perhaps it is what caused her nervousness." They live in Bachcliff, a stately residential area of Ottawa, where every morning the chief justice takes her two Labrador retrievers for a walk in a nearby park. She likes to cook, knit, cross country ski, play the piano, and listen to opera, particularly Mozart. Like many lawyers, she likes the way words work. She has written fiction: there are two unpublished novels, a mystery with a woman lawyer as the central character, and a historical novel set in Alberta. She reads Alice Munro and Margaret Atwood, and Fred Stassen, an Alberta writer of historical fiction.

**T**here is little doubt about Justice McLauchlin's sterling personal qualities. Just about everyone—although not quite everyone—seems to agree about those. But many people who are intelligent and hard working, likable and even wonderful, do not have glamour careers. Some point to what they think is her single career flaw. Someone in the media suggested that, when it was suspected that Antonia Lawlor would soon be resigning as chief justice, McLauchlin was careful not to be closely identified with any judgments that might prove controversial. In 1992, in the infamous 1999 "no-nos" sexual assault case, she did not join the five judges who agreed with Justice John Major's majority opinion, or throw her lotus with Claire L'Heureux-Dubé's aggressive sentencing rulings which severely curtailed the Alberta Court of Appeal. Instead, McLauchlin gave an unexceptional one-paragraph concluding judgment that was at least agreed with everyone.

But that's not without reason. On the 1999 Kergomme case, for example, an appeal from her home province of Alberta, McLauchlin was one of three dissenting judges; she con sidered that Criminal Code legislation, which made prosecuting based upon an identi able group (in this case, Jews) a crime, were unconstitutional as contrary to freedom of expression. "That was a brave thing to do for an amateur attorney," I was told.

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McLauchlin has been on the court for over

two thirds of the life of the 1982 Charter of Rights and Freedoms, and chief justice for over a third of that life. The issue of "judicial activism" has been more present during these years. In a June 19 speech to a Canadian Bar Association conference in Ottawa, she decried the activism in debate over, but, despite an apparent and searching moderation, and, as a result, her theoretical view of the court's power has become increasingly robust as time goes by. In a provocative lesson given in New Zealand in December 2005, she said the court must enforce norms that "transcend the law and executive action." Some of her

INCLUDES PHOTOS BY MICHAEL LAMM



### Ideologically, this chief justice cannot be pigeonholed

given Singapore's steady after having appointed chief justice, as which she views the "global importance" of political power? In Singapore, McLauchlin argued that a proper understanding of democracy allows a considerable room for judicial law making.

What often has her on Chamber nerves? That's the kind of question that pundits and conference organizers like to ask in big fat drinks at The Club downtown. Andrew McEwan, Beatrice Akers and Andrew Green, of the University of Toronto's law faculty, recently did a quantitative analysis of McLauchlin's decisions over the last 10 years. They concluded that the chief justice's voting patterns suggest that she is co-operative and brings other judges to a common position. Consensus, above all, and not any particular principle, is what seems to count for the chief justice. Her own voting pattern, say Akers and Green, is "squarely at the middle."

Criminal law? Here, commentators think they see a tilt to favour the Greens and the police, rather than the accused. Queen's University law professor Donald Strow was reported as saying at the June CBA conference

that a law-and-order bias has crept into Justice Supreme Court Chamber decisions. What of fundamental freedoms—the freedom of association, expression and religion? McLauchlin has not worked as a leader in these issues. In the 2001 rape case, for example, she wrote the judgment for a seven-judge majority which found the opinion of a common law trial judge did not involve acts of indecency (which would have ruled it a crime).

Another favorite question: how does being a woman influence her decisions? That debate began in 1992, when McLauchlin had been sitting on the court for less than two years. In Henn, a rape case, she dissented from the majority judgment given by the great law-and-order judge and hero, Bertha Wilson. The appeal launched her charged and unusual interview with Bertha under the eye of the law. They thought she was older, but the Criminal Code said that belief was not a defense. The appellants said that provision infringed on the Charter, which protects that every individual is equal before the law, because only men could be charged under the section. Wilson disagreed. "There are certain biological malfunctions that one cannot ignore and that may legitimately shape the definition of a person," McLauchlin took exception to in the Wilson analysis. She said the provision "borders more on a discrimination against women. It offers protection to young females which it does not offer to young males. It is discriminatory."

Then came Seneviratne, the 1991 rape shield rule. Did the Criminal Code's rape shield provision infringe the principles of fundamental justice or the right to a fair trial found in the Charter? They restricted the right of the defense to cross examine and lead evidence of a complainant's previous sexual contact. McLauchlin gave the reasons for a seven-judge majority, ruling that the provisions were indeed unconstitutional. Said McLauchlin: "A law which prevents the trial of fact from getting at the truth by excluding relevant evidence in the absence of a clear ground of policy or law justifying the exclusion runs afoul of our fundamental conception of justice and our fundamental conception of a fair trial." Some feminists were outraged. But then, in the 1993 Sykes case, (in a dissenting judgment), she said that a law which would not permit dredging the cost of a rising discrimination against working women. In this as in so many other areas, the chief justice cannot be pigeonholed.

**O**n McLauchlin's predilection as chief justice has been to make the court more open. This requires open processes, the rule of public confidence as the legal system. She proposed a policy that, since February, has been carried over the court

CONSENSUS: above left, not principle, is what seems to count for the chief justice



2000



2008

### She has done little to make justice more accessible, one of her professed goals

webpage and short speech, available to any one with Internet access, a deep interest in Supreme Court cases, and, it has to be said, a lot of patience. McLauchlin's not out. But the public appeal and usefulness of such technical reforms is limited. For the Supreme Court of Canada, transparency seems to have meant removing and redacting the public records of the U.S. Supreme Court. She also became interested in their Canadian counterparts, and was given a research grant by the Canadian government to study their "impact and influence." She sent a survey to all former law clerks, hundreds of them, some having had the job 30 or 40 years ago.

Our Supreme Court was not invited. On June 5, Jill Copeland, the court's executive legal officer, sent an email to former clerks. It accused Weston of giving out "inaccurate

information" about the court's position on her survey, a serious charge against a judge, let alone a professor pursuing research. It also said participating in the survey would violate confidentiality a litigant which "are not limited to information about cases, but also extend to material processes of each justice's chambers." Weston was baffled; this had not been an issue in the United States. Some former Canadian law clerks were puzzled by the sweeping prohibitions, some astounded at its overreaching.

Another McLauchlin act has been seen in its justice. In a speech to the 2007 annual meeting of the Canadian Bar Association, she called it "a basic right," comparing it to education and health care. She described the accumulation as increasingly urgent, with the middle class in particular finding it hard to resolve legal problems because of the cost. That year, Justice Adam Dodek of the University of Ottawa's faculty of law recently wrote, "the courts—especially our high court—are part of the problem." Dodek is particularly upset by the 2007 Supreme Court decisions in the Lord Séguin and Chemic cases. In Little Bisons, a gay booklet in Vancouver sought to call itself "advocate court order" to finance an attempt to get the release of books seized as pornography by Canadian Customs. Such an order would mean first Customs paid Little Bisons' legal expenses. "Without the order, Little Bisons could not afford to pursue its case. The court rejected the application, with McLauchlin in the majority. In Chemic, a Vancouver lawyer fought against imposition by the BC government of a seven per cent tax on legal services on the grounds that it discriminated against poor people and was unconstitutional. The Supreme Court, reversing the B.C. Court of Appeal, unanimously ruled against Little Bisons "General terms of legal services," and the tax was seen as "not a centrally recognizable aspect of a proceeding to the rule of law."

Transparency, and access to justice? Maybe not so much.

Nonetheless as a member of the Benaville McLauchlin fan club, it is said she is not the court's emblematic leader; if that is so, some observers would pick Justice Ian Binnie, although others consider Binnie too much of a down-the-middle. One Supreme Court veteran, "McLauchlin's not a Bora Laskin, or a Brian Dickson [both justices

### A FEW STARS TOO MANY

The family of an 18-year-old Belgian girl suing a tattoo parlor for covering her face in 36 stars may have to reconsider. The girl said she asked for three stars, then "believe it or not" was asked and asked to draw her face "fattened." The shop owner claimed she was "waking all the time" and problems only began when her father gave the tattoo and became angry. "It was right, the girl has admitted she lied and got exactly what she asked for."



IN THIS PHOTOGRAPH BY MICHAEL LAMM

char[acter]s? What she says or writes carry the same kind of weight?"

Gerry Laddie, a right-wing attorney, has described McLachlin as "a 'dope and duplicitous' test." A close observer of the Supreme Court commented that the *soho* "consensus at the expense of principle" and "willful together, just about anything to achieve agreement." Diane Laddie, personally McLachlin's senior, a frequent dissenter in decisions. A senior lawyer who has appeared many times before the court said she has seen it in various panels of governors. "She's always moving to the center, but she's not prepared to be outrageous, and I think that's a problem. It's a court of justice, not a government department," another told me. "The court must be living down its reputation. It sometimes relies on moral issues, and that is overdone."

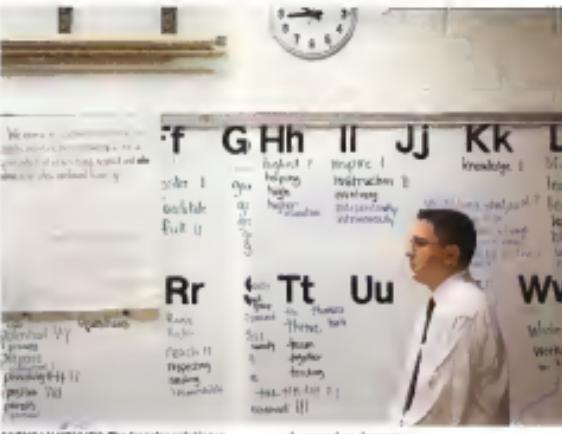
A former law clerk to one of McLachlin's predecessors as chief justice, who has since appeared as an attorney before the Supreme Court, said that McLachlin seems orally measured by her role. "She seems to think she's a Justice of the peace," he said. Another former clerk said, "She longer her prerogatives in [that role], like being attorney general." "No president at [the time] I was a law student told me I was a donee speech she made, and it was very brief. Precipitated drafting with each other before she had finished." A very junior federal politician said, "Beverly McLachlin has had an unreal idea."

There will always be messengers. Despite the complainers, Beverly McLachlin has done a good job in chief justice. She is competent and efficient, and, so far, we have content with her as only Canadians can be. But, as McLachlin is not a true leader, or is not an agreeable legal institution, where is the articulate vision, from the bully pulpit, of beverly law in a better society? The jury is still out on the answer to these questions. McLachlin has almost as many before her. She needs to be mandatory retirement age of 75, so just our friends at rest.

If there were a quintessential Canadian, she might be Beverley McLachlin. No-flair background here: that's from a small town, the child of deeply religious parents, educated well but not in foreign schools and universities, never divorced but having spent entire life in a single mother. She has five husband diets, ran a marathons all the way, even banded and even tempered, noelle and cautious, probably smirky, more of a food diet, perhaps even ambitious—and certainly like—such as that. ■

Philip Slevin is a former dean of a Canadian law school, and was partner of a major law firm. He is writing two books about the Supreme Court of Canada, where he was a clerk.

**Most principals would rather hide or transfer incompetent teachers than try to oust them**



BAKED MEAT: The tenderloin is known as 'porky the French'

about," says Menney, who authored a 2009 study on the subject. Despite research indicating that about five percent of every wife kills her husband, he uncovered a truth about his subjects he describes as "surprising": Just

than one-tenth of one per cent of classroom teachers were being dismissed annually to poor performance. When viewed through this lens, the Canadian numbers are even more startling. Of the roughly 130,000 educators licensed by the Ontario College of Teachers to teach, only 27 have been terminated due to poor performance since 2004-05. An annual average of just 0.02 per cent. In the past five years, not a single permanent teacher has been dismissed for poor performance in the Ontario public school system.

Whale experts or natural or physical scientists already grounds for this planetary action (as well as a public emergency), while continuing to test whether intergovernmental can be sustainable. As a consequence, institutions such as local governments, NGOs, and the like, are invited to take the lead in this process to set up single-achieved boards in Montreal and Winnipeg. Saskatchewan Public Schools have approached you and an Edmton-based Public Schools, says a spokesman, "very few if any" have been let go.

colleague who gave "no grades at all." When filling out report cards, that teacher would

ask around to determine what grades each student had earned in other subjects, and "give them the time," he says. While working for Edmonton Public Schools, Bennett once offered up a part-time teacher who would sit with at-risk students in

choose between the classroom and the hall. "Sometimes, I'd come on his classroom and there would be 10, 11 kids out in the hallway," he says.

To most parents, teacher incompetence isn't formally defined. It's long before termination is even a possibility, principals must document significant instances of incompetence often for the better part of a year. "It's very labour-intensive and time-consuming," says the Ontario trustee. "You have to be meticulous or the union will get you." Although the teacher in this case left before she could

IN A GIVEN YEAR,  
ONTARIO FIRES  
JUST 0.002% OF ITS  
TEACHERS FOR POOR  
PERFORMANCE

en and the hall classroom and in the hallway," says McEntee, "so before the principal came to inspect me, I was very nervous," says McEntee. "I was very nervous about being bad at their jobs will really come in their walking papers. As part of his study, Menary asked teachers to rank a list of 29 measures that administrators use to deal with noncompliance. They identified "voluntary transfers to another school" as the most prevalent. Bessell, meanwhile, was ranked 16th. "We all know we play this game," says Menary. "I believe passionately that we need to get rid of those hills, but I'll be honest, because of the time and the effort

A small black square icon with the text "BLACKBOARD BUNDLE" in white, diagonally oriented.

**X-RATED TEAM DECIDEDLY UN-DISINGENUOUS** A group of students gathered in the auditorium after school were supposed to be Count Rock, but instead of the Jones brothers, the seven or five, were seven or eight women in gimp. The suspense lesson in plain English: do something, yank the power cord from the wall. Apparently, the X-rated flick at the school's BYO played

# NOT JOBLESS, THEY'RE 'FUNEMPLOYED'

**A wave of grads has no hope of finding work. But that's cool.**

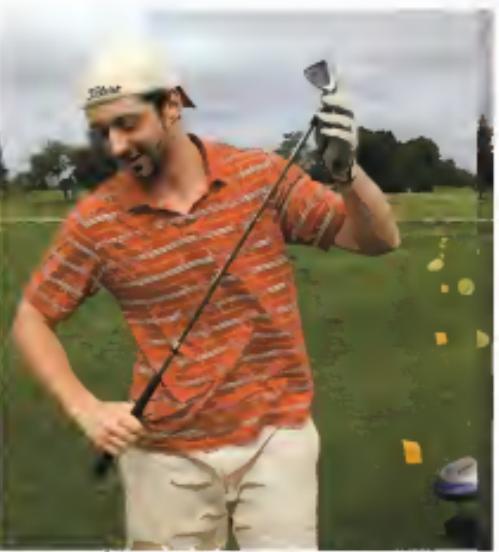
**BY STEPHANIE FISHLAN** — When the recession hit, Gaelan Love's future changed—maybe, he says, for the better. The recent McGill University graduate had always planned to work at a bank when he completed his major in geography and minor in economics, but thanks to the recession, he's going to the real estate that it's not just going to happen, at least not yet. "It's not really the right time to be going into the market," he says. Acting like he spent his time doing interviews, but now he's given up, and he's happier for it. In fact, he says, now he just wants to have fun.

The sheer impossibility of finding a job in the middle of Canada's worst recession in decades forced him to think. Love adds: "Maybe I don't want to grow up so fast. I mean, you can graduate and go into the working world. But then you think, 'I'm 22, and I'm never going to be 22 again.'

So instead of pursuing the pavement in a soul-crushing—and bleak future—quest for a real job, he's decided to enjoy his summer in Montreal instead. He's saving up money working at a Mexican bar before traveling to London in September, and then to Vietnam for internships at management consulting firms.

Love is part of a whole wave of young people who, in the face of harsh economic times, have decided they're not jobless, they're "funemployed." They know they can't get the work they've trained and studied for, and they could spend their time hooding over the stacks of rejection letters—but why? They're confident that eventually things will get better, and they know it isn't their fault.

There's a proliferation of websites and blogs dedicated to people like Love's situation, such as *Funemployment.com*—because not everyone is lucky enough to work at a job they can't stand—and *Stuff! Unemployed People Like*, a site on the reddit staff. While *People Like* has a



YOUNG PEOPLE are the hardest hit by the recession, but also, oddly, the most optimistic since 1999. Among students aged 20 to 24, participation in the labour force fell "substantially" from 2008, dropping from 75.2% to 65.6 percent.

A recent study by Pew Research Center, a Washington think tank, reports that "Generation Next," also known as "Generation I" (born 1977 or later), is being squeezed harder than any other age group by the recession. A third of people aged 18 to 29 have been out or expect to be within the next year. To pad their résumés on social networking and Twitter, that was also small sacrifice. Four in 10 say they have cut down on alcohol and cigarettes due to the recession. And one in five young adults have roommates with friends or relatives since the downturn.

Spencer Burns, like Love, is 22 and like Love, he's had times. He was working as an application engineer for CAM Solutions in Bellingham, Wash. He'd work from eight to five (but often later), then hit the gym for an hour and a half. Afterwards he'd eat dinner, or two, or three, and watch *House* on TSN before going to bed. He loved his identity, and it was "in an environment where I was considered an expert," he says.

But once the economy contracted, Burns' ideal workplace environment disintegrated and so did his job. On Monday, May 1, Burns was let go. Over the next few weeks he devised his plan to find another job, calling friends in the business, previous managers and even presidents of companies he hoped to work for. Finally,



**Parents may feel differently. Some have sold their homes so the kids can't move back in.**

after a couple weeks of beating himself up, he decided to make the best of his fate off "from young. I've got experience, and I'm not worried about getting a job eventually," he says. "It's just work for a couple of months; it's not the end of the world."

Equipped with a severance package and vacation pay, Burns plans on taking a week-long trip to Australia in July and, on the meantime, he'll play his favorite pastime, golf. "I'll have a family I could go see there working," he explains, "but I'm career-oriented and I'm not going to take a job halfway. "He will be patient and keep his eye to the ground for an opportunity, trusting he'll get another job in a month or two.

Julian Higgins, a 20-year-old graduate of UBC, has a similar outlook. "I have savings, so I don't really have a huge pressure to go out and get a job," he says. "I just want to take a break for a while." Higgins took six years to complete his B.A., the final two of which were spent part time while he worked at UBC's student newspaper, the *Uyssey*. "Right now I've taken an interest in wood working," he says. "I really enjoyed it in high school and I haven't had time since university."

In fact, Gen Yers are more likely to optimistic about the future—more than any other generation, with 65 per cent in the Pew study believing their personal situation will improve over time. And who can blame them? "If you grew up over the last 10 or 20 years, you've grown up in one of the biggest booms in modern economic history," explains Catherine Douglas, a professor of economics at the University of British Columbia, "so it's fair to say the main frame of reference you're going to find pretty optimistic."

"In general, unemployment is extremely depressing for humans," says Elizabeth Dunn, an associate professor in the department of psychology at the University of British Columbia, who has devoted her career to studying happiness. "However," she says, "it's not for the reason we might think." In a joint study with Harvard University, Dunn's research concluded that people overestimated the relationship between income and happiness.

The worse things about unemployment isn't income, says Dunn, but rather that unemployment can be socially isolating. "It's bad for you if other people think you are 'lazy,'" says Cynthia Goncalves, 44, a high school teacher at AT Jackson Secondary School in Oregon. "I worked minimum wage when I was 20 just to get a bag of groceries on the table." Goncalves has a B.A. in history, an M.A. in art studies, and a B.Ed. in education, the sadness to technological design in terms.

Goncalves is skeptical of young people who are elevating starting a visible career as a path

"These kids that say 'I'm not going to have a fast life,'" she pauses. "I would suspect it's a little arrogant." But that's partly because Goncalves has seen funemployment affect parents. "I know many colleagues around my age whose kids are graduating," she says. "They are selling their houses and devolving in order for their kids not to be able to move back home."

And that's the kicker for the funemployed: at the end of the day someone has to foot the bill. Gen Yers may be囊cutting through the recession, but if their parents have anything to do with it, that payroll might be over soon. ■

## ARIZONA: HIGHEST CARD WINS COUNCIL SEAT

Wheeler often requires some measure of risk. This was the case in an Arizona town council election last month, where three candidates drew cards to break a tie. The incumbent, who drew a card of hearts, was unseated by a king of the same suit. A 1915 state law stipulates that the state legislature—except for the governors and other top spots—in broken "by lot." Past contests have been determined with dice and poker.



joining weekend army never came into play.

Mary-Green, a 30-year-old graduate of Simon Fraser University with a major in sociology and a minor in philosophy, wrote about funemployment between jobs on her blog, *The Mary Report*. She first heard the name from a friend. "Her friend had heard, so she was unemployed and collecting EI," she explained. "She took advantage of the time to work on her art."

Green was one of the lucky ones—she now works as a software engineer for the province of New Brunswick. But her period of unemployment may have had an effect on her outlook on work. "I don't think people incorporate their identity the way they used to," says Green. "I'm a software developer by day, but I really try to think about my job too much."

Instead, the focus is on her passions, playing in a band and writing blogs.

To anyone who has lived through a depression before, the attitude of the funemployed may be baffling. "It was tough for me to work through the '80s and meet the recession-making through the '90s," says Cynthia Goncalves, 44, a high school teacher at AT Jackson Secondary School in Oregon. "I worked minimum wage when I was 20 just to get a bag of groceries on the table." Goncalves has a B.A. in history, an M.A. in art studies, and a B.Ed. in education, the sadness to technological design in terms.

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# CANADA VERSUS THE WORLD THE BEST PLACE ON EARTH

We're wealthier than the Americans, live longer than the Swedes and eat better than the French. We even have more lovers than the Italians—and of course we're more caring. Happy Canada Day!



**BY JONATHAN GATEHOUSE** • Let's not exaggerate—it's been a bad, bad year. Planning markets have suffered an estimated \$300 billion out of the pretense and rotterment savings of Canadians. A huge wave of joblessness—400,000 and counting—has pushed the unemployment rate to an 11-year high. Add in the billions spent on corporate bailouts and the \$100 billion plus in projected federal and provincial deficits predicted for the coming year, and the economic gloom can seem overwhelming.

But Canadians might want to stop and take a deep breath before going up the local chapter of the Herold Society. As we gather at the cottage, beach or in the backyard to celebrate our nation's 143rd birthday, there is much to be thankful for. Things may be the usual July 3 pictures in our scenic wonderland, abundant natural resources, diversity, and stable politics.

For our Canada Day special issue, Maclean's scoured international opinion surveys, census statistics, think tank reports, policy papers and consumer databases to uncover the truth about this country's place in the global order. The results may surprise you: we're wealthier than the Americans, we live

longer than the Swedes, we're more industrious than the Germans, we have more lovers than the Indians, we're better than the French and we have more TVs than the Japanese.

In so many areas—the economy, health, education, public safety, wildlife standards—the numbers, it seems, back up what we've always quietly believed: deep in our patriotic hearts. Sorry, oblige, but it looks like Canada is the best place on earth.

**M**oving prosperity can be a tricky business. By the International Monetary Fund's reckoning, the oil-rich emirate of Qatar is actually the world's richest nation, with a per capita gross domestic product of US\$66,864. The World Bank, using a different formula, puts Luxembourg at the top of the heap, with a per capita gross national income of US\$66,186. And neither number tells you much about how all that wealth is divided.

Since 1990, the United Nations has followed a different track, publishing an annual human development index that ranks data about life expectancy, purchasing power, literacy and education levels to rank countries by their citizens' "overall well-being."

In the latest list, released last December, Canada placed third, ahead of Australia, Ireland, the Netherlands, Sweden, Japan, Switzerland and, well, the rest of the world. The United States was 15th. Only Norway and Iceland scored higher, although it's a safe assumption that the collapse of Iceland's banking system has since ended the island nation's ascendancy when you caught that, the UN gives no extra points for banks.

Even by the narrower measurements of wealth alone, Canada is looking surprisingly robust these days. If you go by household net worth, the typical Canadian family is actually doing better than the typical family in America. After adjusting for currency and purchasing power, the median Canadian household has a net worth of US\$493,346, versus US\$491,206 in the States. Americans also carry almost twice the per capita personal debt—US\$61,820 versus US\$33,459. And we spend 79 per cent of our annual household budget on shelter, a category that accounts for 34 per cent of ours.

Indeed you could make the numbers differently—and look at all the bank deposits, assets, wealth funds and other financial measures the country contains by the number of households. Canada does surprisingly well on the global scale. According to *Global Analytics*, at least 2008, Canada ranks No. 2 among the top industrialized countries in the world, with a financial net worth per household of US\$414,100, ending only the U.S., which clocks in at US\$365,700. We're substantially ahead of Britain, France and Germany. And the good news in all the current bad news is that the global economic downturn is narrowing the gap between us and our northern neighbour. Since late 2007, their Federal net worth has dropped by 14 per cent, while ours has dropped by 17 per cent.

Canadians also boast higher median household incomes than the Aussies and the Brits, and a higher level of home ownership than the Americans, Japanese, Swedes, Danes, French and Germans. And we buy a spacious corner—77 per cent of our homes have five or more rooms, compared to 70 per cent in the U.S., 72 per cent in Britain, and 70 per cent in Australia. (Note that we're hung up on that stuff: when *National Geographic* asked whether owning a big house was an important goal in a global 2008 survey, just over one per cent of Canadian consumers agreed, compared to 11 per cent of Germans, and 22 per cent of the French.)

The Gross Domestic Product has undeniably made us poorer at a nation, but with the dollar now suggesting we may have finally avoided bottom, Canada does seem better positioned than most for a recovery. As our politicians never tire of pointing out, we finished the

year in come through the banking crisis relatively unscathed, and property markets, while down, aren't in free-fall like they are south of the border, where house prices have dropped by 12 per cent from their 2006 peak, or Britain, where prices have dropped by 20 per cent from their 2007 high. In fact, a recent *Goldman Sachs* report predicts that Canada, along with Australia and France, will be among the first advanced economies to emerge from the recession, returning to trend rates of growth by early 2011, and raising output back up to its pre-crisis level by sometime between 2013 and 2016. The U.S., on the other hand, isn't expected to get its act back up to pre-crisis levels until 2017. "I think we still have that interesting conundrum," says Benjamin Trott, senior economist at CIBC World Markets. "But we ought to start feeling better about ourselves. This crisis has really exposed the vulnerabilities of the U.S. economy."

I don't take Joseph Raybin long to point out what he means: not about Canada—not being rated. "The answer to all your 'Oprah' Prize for my novel *Through Black Spruce* opened up the career of the young Laurentian, where he and his wife are now in residence in the University of New Orleans. "When I go out at night—evera just to throw out the garbage—I'm always afraid. I stop to look around. Living there doesn't bring a sense of safety." And not without reason. New Orleans is the most violent city in the U.S., with a murder rate more than 20 times the national average. Some years ago, the author and his wife even witnessed one.

Canada has its fair share of ghouls—31 for every 100 people, the 11th-highest level of criminal homicide in the world. That's roughly twice as many as Austria, Iceland and Germany, and lower than Sweden, Norway and France. The frightening news is that, for some reason, we aren't inclined to point them at other people. Canada's incarceration rate is in the middle of the pack, and has fallen by more than 40 per cent since 1975. Females are also about one-third of Canada's刑犯s. By contrast, guys are stuck in about two-thirds of lockups in the U.S., where both the murder rate and the level of



CANADA'S fruit and veggie consumption rate is third-highest in the world

## THE FRENCH THINK THEY KNOW EVERYTHING ABOUT FOOD, BUT WHEN IT COMES TO ETHNIC FOOD, OR FUSION, IT'S BETTER IN VANCOUVER

garner ownership (about 60 fixtures per 100 people) are three times higher.

Corruption, endemic in other parts of the world, is almost non-existent here (notwithstanding the anomalies of certain German Canadian businesses). At home and abroad, Canadians are recognized for their honesty and rectitude. The *2010 Rule of Law Index*, prepared by the global civil-society organization Transparency International, ranks Canada at No. 1, and with Bulgaria—meaning our firms are the least likely in the world to engage in payoffs. Only four per cent of Canadian businesspeople have ever bribed high-ranking politicians or political parties, according to a survey, well below the international average of 11 per cent.

It's not that we are incapable of greasing palms, but even the recipients seem to recognize how out of character it is. Last fall, *Forbes*, CTV's play-acting correspondent, recalls a shake-down when she sat in Baghdad in 2005, covering the Iraq elections. The network was—fissioned with all the necessary permits and permissions—had easily left the Green Zone when it was pulled over by a policeman. He placed a gun at Lafreniere's temple and demanded tya (the one the insatiable was complete). He followed the car to a local police station where he spent the next three hours bagging for assistance in cracking a Canadian mix. "He kept saying, 'I helped you, now, you help me,'" Lafreniere laughs. "I think there was even an amendment proposed."

most-ethical country in the world (behind the Netherlands and Spain, respectively). We are ranked as fourth best in the Americas, and ninth best in the world. And despite having the third-highest number of McDonald's franchises per capita in the world, we are relatively careful about what we put on our bodies. Our rate of daily fruit and vegetable consumption is the third highest in the world, behind only the Chinese and the Australians. We drink more fruit juice—52 litres a year—than the citizens of any other country (the Americans only second at a paltry 41.5 litres). We have lower daily smokers than every country in the OECD bar there. And shockingly, we eat processed food less frequently than the French. Kim Brand, a lawyer for a Canadian bank who has lived and worked in Paris, remembers being awed at the number of French people who now eschew Paris's traditional austere in favour of vast, American-style hypermarkets. And despite a deeply ingrained national attitude that they know everything, French people are not afraid to learn. Food is a warhorse in Paris discourse. "I'd say 90 per cent of the people I eat with," says Sophie, "don't drink that coffee," adds "I didn't eat," the French actually isn't much for snobby. "They do what they do really well," she says. "They should come to Canada and eat ethnic food—or fusion—it's a lot better in Vancouver, Toronto or Montreal."

Canada is no place where Comedians have the advantage over the Scandinavians: good health. *Forbes* does add that Canadians are more likely to be obese than the Spanish, French and Americans. Canadians are also somewhat less of a hooligan than the Swedes, and more prone to having more sexual partners than the Japanese but less blood-thirsty than the French (Italy, Slovenia, France). It's the Austrians who seem to be the most frenetic. Could this be an aphrodisiac? All of which may or may not be somehow related to the fact that, according to the global 2009 *National Geographic* survey, higher percentage of us own, rent or lease TVs, than even the people that manufacture them, the Japanese.

Lord knows that none of this makes Canada anywhere near perfect. We may as well be environmentally friendly, but we emphatically are not, using more energy per person than any other country. The United Nations reports that our greenhouse-gas emissions are climbing faster than any other member of the G8. Our infant mortality rate is lower than that of the U.S., but actually not lower than the Nordic nations and Japan. Poverty and addiction remain significant problems in our Aboriginal communities. And our health care system continues to struggle with costs, wait times, and in some areas, outcomes.

But the year of the year we've just had, though, let's put all the negatives aside for at least one day. We're a uniquely privileged nation—privileged, healthy, and upper than practically any other place in the world. Those who have reason to leave often do it to ring out such truths. "Every time I come back across the border, I'm overcome with a sense of national happiness," says Boyd. "I feel all those words about my or my wife personal safety, or what happens if we get sick in Canada, we don't live nearly as close to the house."

And should, by some miracle, we actually start believing what the stats tell us—dare we say the best country on earth—don't worry, the sky won't fall. Rick Moranis has been a national icon by revealing what others think about Canadians, and poking fun at how we view ourselves. And he says that if this country has one hallmark, it's a great self-reflecting sense of humour. "I think for every single region of the country," he says, "You will find it in北海道 or Bay Street, or in the patch in Calgary, or even Newfoundland and Labrador, or in the Yukon. We don't take ourselves too seriously, and we are more likely to laugh at ourselves than others. It's about as admirable a trait as you can ask for in an ordinary country."

With Patricia White

## RICHER THAN WE THINK

It's common knowledge that

Canada sits high on such

rankings like the UN's Human

Development Index—but even

when you look at just pure

wealth, we're amazingly high.

Human Development Index

CANADA 0.900

SWEDEN 0.896

CANADA 0.896

SWEDEN 0.895

AUSTRALIA 0.892

CANADA 0.892

SWEDEN 0.891

NETHERLANDS 0.889

CANADA 0.889

NETHERLANDS 0.888

FRANCE 0.886

CANADA 0.886

NETHERLANDS 0.885

GERMANY 0.885

CANADA 0.885

NETHERLANDS 0.884

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ONCE LEISURE TIME INCREASED UNTIL THE  
1970s, BUT THE TREND SHARPLY REVERSED

## WHO NEEDS A BREAK?

**Canadians do. We're the fourth-hardest workers in the world.**

**BY BRIDGET MACDONALD** • If you're not paid enough by your country already, here's another reason to stand tall: We Canadians work harder than almost every other country in the world. That's according to a new report from the World Bank, the International Labour Organization, and the International Organization of Employers. The report ranks 130 countries based on the average number of hours worked per week. Canada came in at No. 4, North America's second-hardest working country in the developed world. When you take into account both hours worked and employment rates, we handily beat out the U.S., Germany, Sweden, Japan, and most of the rest of Europe. The only countries that work as are Israel (which ranked at No. 1), New Zealand and Switzerland (which tied for second), and Denmark (which ranked third). In fact, some say, it's starting to look like Canadians may be working too hard.

Given our proclivity for work, it's not the reach of a shadow如今 over that Canadians get less vacation time than almost any other country. We agree to 19 days of paid vacation a year, on average, while our French neighbors receive a staggering 26 weeks of paid leave per year. Spaniards get 30 days, Israelis get 21, those famously indolent Germans get 25, and the British—the most Protestant work tribe—earn 26, according to a recent global survey by travel website Expedia.

While it's encouraging that Canadians are reducing their work week, it's not clear if they're getting more time off. "People are reducing their work week, but it's not clear if they're getting more time off," says Karl Aquino, an expert in organizational behavior at the Sauder School of Business at the University of British Columbia. And the fear of being perceived as underperforming—"which can be quite scary during a recession"—may keep others from taking a vacation, he adds. (Further, management may refuse you time off if you're seen as a key player.)

While downtime may be sharply reduced in the coming months, it's not unique to Canada; it's actually part of a larger, 30-year trend, says sociologist Gilles Prostowatz, professor emeritus in the department of leisure, culture and tourism at Université du Québec à Trois-Rivières. From the 1950s to the 1980s, the time Canadians spent working steadily decreased, and leisure hours rose accordingly. Prostowatz explains that in the late 1990s, that trend sharply reversed, "unbalancing" two decades of gains. So far, the 21st century has been "catastrophic" to both leisure and work, he says. In the eight-year period from 1999 to 2005, leisure time decreased by 109 hours and the average workweek increased by 17 hours.

Currently Canadians, like Australians, log 8.33 hours worked on average (when you include both full time and part-time work), edging the U.S. and Britain, who work a weekly 8.26 and 8.1 hours respectively, according to data from the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD). The French, meanwhile, work an average of 19 hours per week; Norwegians, 28, and the Dutch, 27. Within Canada, Alberta logs the longest hours: three hours more than in B.C., and four hours more than in Quebec, according to Statistics Canada.

Various factors are to blame for growing work weeks, says University of Waterloo sociologist Sue Shaw, including our new "electronic tools"—including of cellphones, BlackBerrys, email and Wi-Fi—that allow us to work anytime, anywhere, and an increasingly competitive work culture, "which values very high levels of work commitment, dedication and willingness to work long hours."

But that explanation is incomplete, says Judith Kliman, director of McGill's Institute for Health and Social Policy. After all, the same electronic gadgets and go-gos exist in Europe, where leisure hours have increased, she says. The bulk of the world's most competitive countries—including Switzerland, Denmark,

### LESS LEISURE, MORE WORK

Canadians are some of the hardest workers in the world—and we get less vacation time than pretty much all of Europe.

**World's hardest-working countries**

- 1 Israel
- 2 New Zealand and Switzerland (tie)
- 3 Denmark
- 4 Canada
- 5 Sweden

#### No. of vacation days a year

AT A GLANCE

**AMERICA** 19

**SWITZERLAND** 18

**FRANCE** 16

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Sweden, Finland, Germany and the Netherlands—governments mostly encourage time off than Canada, she notes.

Experts say the big reason for our down-ding leisure time is that in North America, we've collectively descended down a road because it's simply not seen as productive. "Which is all well and good," says Toronto physician Mel Bennis, who says the low value placed on leisure is likely costing us mental and physical health. Citing two major U.S. longitudinal studies, Bennis says men who take regular holidays are 33 per cent less likely to make from a heart attack than those who do not, while women show half the risk. "Vacations also improve workplace efficiency, turnover decreases significantly, and people are less likely to take sick time after returning from a vacation," he adds, noting that he's seen rather, patients' health and stress levels disappear in patients returning from holidays.

At least we try to make the most of our limited vacation time, by location it up and mixing work and pleasure, according to University of Guelph tourism professor Sandra Elliot (who wrote in Maclean's in an editorial recently scolded 21 p.m. as hours before leaving for working vacation in Hawaii). Our mostly Canadians take four "leisure trips" per year, averaging two nights each, with 80 per cent of the days domestic, she says.

The recession may sharpen that trend too, helping Canadians on short, mixed trips closer to home, says Waterloo tourism professor Stephen Smith. This year, Canadian tour operators reported a 15 per cent drop in travel business, and airlines are predicting combined global losses topping \$9 billion, thanks largely to the growing numbers who opt to spend their leisure locally.

This summer, for instance, Bob Lau, an exclusively well-traveled 34-year-old Vancouver engineer, embarked on a weekend "vacation" with a group of friends eight twentysomething working professionals and one medical student. The goal? "To enjoy a vacation as a group together, and spend as little money as possible," Lau explains. They hit Vancouver but spent that, at least, they generally agree. A brewery tour at Granville Island, for example, provided a picnic at a nearby park with meats and cheeses bought from Forests labyrinthine food markets. They also hit the stand surrounding Stanley Park and stopped for a swim at Third Beach, a local treasure overlooking Burnaby Lake, near South End. "We were shocked in how nice the beach was," says Lau, as he and his friends never usually venture past the west side beaches surrounding Kardinal.

La differ vita, right here at home. Now imagine what they could do if they had 18 days leave—like they do in France. ■

# RELIGION AT WORK

## Our tolerance likely has nothing to do with multiculturalism

BY MICHAEL PETROW • For those given to worrying about how well people from different faiths get along in Canada, there has been plenty of evidence of late to feed their fears.

Canada's various human rights commissions have been doing back-to-back investigating perceived signs of one type or the other. Quebec's "inappropriate accommodations" hearings have heard from people who were upset by the sight of women wearing headscarves in Montreal, or by too much kosher immigration and governance at the University of Quebec. And a recent poll

policy of religious freedom has been instrumental in creating what Monica Boyd, a sociology professor at the University of Toronto, describes as "an ideology of accommodation." It has enabled Canadians—who are already predisposed to accept newcomers because of our long history of immigration—the belief that different groups belong here and that interaction between those groups is a good thing.

On the other side of the debate are those who believe that what matters most is not how the state treats immigrants, but who they are and what they do when they arrive. Randall Hansen, Canada research chair of immigration and governance at the University of Guelph, is in this camp.

## LESS DIVIDED THAN EUROPE

Rather than existing in distinct silos, as they do in Europe, members of different religious traditions in Canada and the U.S. resulting in high religious tolerance, tolerance and integration.



Source: The Global Divide Index 2009. It is a poll of 10,000 adults in 20 countries. See [ericsson.com/divide](http://ericsson.com/divide)

by Maclean's found that many Canadians say they are divided by religion.

But whatever religious fault lines exist in Canada, we're much less divided than that, says, and only slightly more so than the United States. Recent polling by Gallup tried to determine the extent of what they call "religious cohesion" around the world, by asking respondents how they treat and are treated by members of other faiths—whether they would object to someone from a different faith moving next door, for example. Respondents were then classified as either "isolated," "intertwined," or "integrated." Among countries in western Europe and North America, only the U.S. had more respondents who rated as "integrated" (and fewer who rated as "isolated") than Canada.

Analysts differ as to why this is the case. Some contend that the most important factor in determining how people from different faiths get along is how immigrants and their offspring—who are often religious immigrants—viewed by their adopted countries.

By that line of reasoning, Canada's official

## TELECOMS IS CENTRAL TO CLOSING THE DIGITAL DIVIDE

ericsson.com



# ARE WE BLUSHING YET?

We have more sex partners than Italy. We take our time, too.

BY KATE LUNAGI • Which country produces the world's greatest lover? Spain and Italy—home to history's two most famous hot-blooded libertines, Don Juan and Casanova—are close contenders. And in France, Paris is affectionately called the City of Love (the French even have a love named after them). Canada, on the other hand, is better known for its toques, hockey, and maple syrup. But despite our stodgy image, it turns out we've got the热 the three beat. So why do we have more partners than the French, Spanish or Italians, we're more sexually adventurous, too. During those long, cold winters, we have to do something to keep warm.

The 2007-2008 global Turno survey, which polls people on their sexual habits, makes it clear we're no slouches in the bedrooms. Can admen say they average 13 partners in a lifetime, although, compared with 21 in Spain, 19 in Italy, 17 in France, and 13 in the United States, Canadian women may say they have 12 partners, also more than their counterparts in those countries. In China, men reported just four partners in a lifetime, and in India they reported nine.

And if that's not enough, Canada boasts some of the most caring and considerate male lovers on the planet. Here, we don't rush to the finish line, as take-out-line. Can admen spend an average of 37 minutes on foreplay and intercourse per instance, a whole 10 minutes more than they do in Hong Kong, and two minutes longer than in the States. We're more open to experiencing it in bed, too. Perhaps most importantly, Canadian men are willing to take big sacrifices for their partners. Believe it or not, we're the sexiest capital of the world. According to a recent family planning study by the Population Reference Bureau, born in Washington, more women here rely on male sterilization for contraception than any other country surveyed. How can I explain it? "I'm hearing a lot of sensitive comments from patients who empathize



with their wives, and what they've gone through during childbirth," says Vancouver-based Dr. Nir Pollak.

But while Canadians do make good points, a few other nationalities still give us a run for our money. Like Canada, Austria and Switzerland are known for their snow-capped peaks—and they also seem to know that monogamy isn't the only way to break a sweat. In the Turno survey, Austrian men said they had an average of 29 sexual partners on average, making them the most promiscuous lovers on the planet. And a full 77 per

## MOVE OVER DON JUAN

Italy and France may have a reputation for hot-blooded libertines, but Canada beats them both when it comes to the average number of sexual partners in a lifetime claimed by both men and women. We don't tease the French like either, taking more time per instance than the U.S., France or Hong Kong.

### Men's no. of partners in a lifetime

COUNTRY	2007
CANADA	12
ITALY	10
SPAIN	9
FRANCE	7
HONG KONG	6
INDIA	5
CHINA	4

### Women's no. of partners in a lifetime

COUNTRY	2007
CANADA	12
ITALY	10
Spain	9
France	7
Canada	7
Hong Kong	6
India	5

### Minutes spent on foreplay and intercourse

COUNTRY	2007
CANADA	37
INDIA	35
ITALY	34
FRANCE	33
HONG KONG	32
CHINA	31
U.S.	30

SOURCE: Turno Sexual Relationship Global Survey, 2007-08 (selected 14-44 info)

PHOTOGRAPH BY JEFFREY D. STONE



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SPECIAL REPORT

agency," says Dr. Pierre-Audrey Michaud, professor of adolescent health at the University of Lausanne in Switzerland. Sex is seen in general terms, he adds, and can't be politically charged issue in it is in the States. "It's very interesting the way the U.S. president must decline if they're for or against gay marriage and abortion," he notes. "In Switzerland and surrounding countries, these discussions do not take place."

One might expect that a more liberal approach to sex would contribute to higher standards of teen pregnancy or sexually transmitted diseases (STDs) than the appear are generally true. Canada performs better than the States on such indicators—our child mortality rate in 2007 was 2.7 per 100,000 people, for example, much lower than the 10.9 per 100,000 in the U.S.—but some western European countries perform better still. Switzerland, for one, had an abortion rate of 6.9 per 100,000 in 2007. It also has one of the lowest teen pregnancy and abortion rates in the world, Michaud says.

Indeed, the general rule seems to be that countries attitudes toward sex (especially teen sex, which is a bellwether for other sex) go hand in hand with higher contraceptive and STD rates, says Alex McKay, research coordinator at the Sex Information and Education Council of Canada. Being able to discuss sex frankly among people "helps reach later about accessing the services and information they need. As a result, they tend to have fewer sexual problems than we do," McKay says. In North America, though, "there's still a massive extent, a taboo surrounding sex."

A recent survey of Toronto teens seems to back that up. It found that many barriers to accessing sexual health information and services in Canada still stand. Interestingly, while youth said they'd learned about STDs, pregnancy and birth control in school, the topics they wanted to learn about included healthy relationships and sexual pleasure, which are often ignored. Even today, "it's the exception" of a teacher who feels comfortable talking about sex, says Sarah Parkes, a York University professor who worked on the study.

In the end, having the language to talk about sex is most important, notes Ian Lester, a sex educator who works with Durex. "The more you can talk about sex, the more you learn about yourself and how to make it enjoyable," she says. She acknowledges that the cultural taboo that can exist such talk very widely around the globe. But despite those differences, the topics that people want to discuss are universal: "No matter where I go, the number one question I get from men is 'about sex,'" Lester says. "I get emails from all around the world. I should count how many different countries I have." ■



## WHY WE LIVE LONGER

**No Mediterranean diet for us. We outlast the Europeans as it is.**

BY GREGORY GALLU • Despite the global appeal of the more balanced, less frantic lifestyle in Europe—the Mediterranean diet, the wine to live often, the soft culture, sensory—when it comes to life expectancy, Canada is the envy of nearly every country. From the day we're born, the average Canadian can expect to live longer than the average of its 23 peers, according to the World Health Organization's estimate. That puts us at number eight in the world, higher than countries with more refined, industrialized menus, including France, Sweden, Italy, Spain, Greece, Germany, Britain, Denmark, and the U.S.

Elsewhere, when it comes to "healthy life expectancy," which is to say the number of disability-free years a person enjoys, Canada ranks fourth highest in the world. Behind countries such as Japan, Italy and Switzerland, and well-placed such as France, Norway and the Netherlands, and better than Britain and Greece, among many others. "The average Canadian has a fairly long life," says Frank Janson, a University of Alberta demographer and editor

of the journal Canadian Studies in Population. "And out of that fairly long life, most years are spent in good health. That's exactly what countries should strive for."

If you're surprised to know we live so long, it's no wonder, given the grim reports citing rising obesity rates, lengthy medical wait times, physician and nurse shortages, and limited access to health care in remote locations. While these challenges are real and serious, longevity experts aren't afraid that Canada deserves more accolades. "We don't give ourselves a fair shake," says Margaret Braund, a sociologist at the University of Victoria. "We're always questioning the quality of our health care. But it's clear that we do so much better than our neighbours in terms of health and life expectancy."

So how did Canada achieve such high longevity compared to the rest of the world? One of the most interesting explanations suggests that it's actually common to the country who have helped boost our life expectancy. The "healthy immigrant effect" theorizes that only the most energetically and physically fit individuals can make the long journey, enduring the challenges of a major move to the hopes of long-term gain. Then the acclimation process, which includes rigorous health

smallest, further west applicants to her only the most robust people settle here. Given that Canada has the highest immigration rate per capita in the world, this concern has become increasingly significant to demographers, says Trudeau. "It's the location of real research in Canada."

One of the aspects that makes Canada such a desirable destination are our high standard of living, say experts. We boast strong employment, education and financial income per capita, according to the Fraser Institute. These socio-economic factors are, perhaps, a lot of attraction among longevity researchers in more austere environments that poverty and low education have a strong correlation with illness. Trudeau says that the big focus on economic inequality, which annually measures the spread between the rich and poor, Canada's income inequality gap relative to other industrialized countries falls "somewhere in the middle," he says. In a 2008 Conference Board of Canada study, we rank 50th out of 17 wealthy nations—better than the U.S. and Britain, but not as high as the Netherlands, Denmark, Sweden and Austria, which had the least income inequality.

Our publicly funded health system helps to keep that gap from widening, and it's a major reason for our longevity, experts agree. Nationally and even within specific health care always have longer average life expectancies, says Perreault. Like Canada, many European nations such as Italy, France and Sweden also have public systems, which is reflected in their relatively high longevity, and the same goes for Japan, which has one of the highest life expectancies in the world. Meanwhile, in the U.S., where health care is privatized, when you look at the averages, people don't live as many years, partly because some segments of the population haven't afford medical attention.

It also helps that Canadians generally avoid one of the risk factors that shorten our lives. We have one of the lowest smoking rates in the world, according to the Organization for

Economics Co-operatives and Development (OECD). Just 17.3 percent of Canadians smoke, way lower than rates in the most long-lived nations out there, such as France (23 per cent), Spain (23.1), Japan (23.2), and Greece (24.6). "Canada was one of the first countries to introduce very vigorous anti-smoking messages," says Anne-Marie Mathews, scientific director of the Institute of Aging, a division of the Canadian Institutes of Health Research. "Some of the countries

increasing our life expectancy."

As well, there's a growing health problem in Canada that not about everyone: obesity. In the world is facing an epidemic of obesity and its accompanying disabilities, such as diabetes and heart disease. As of 2004, nearly a quarter of Canadian adults were obese, compared to 14 per cent in 1975, according to Statistics Canada. Another 95 per cent of us are overweight. Among them, the percentage who are overweight or obese has doubled. The problem is so severe that Mathews Mathews says that the average life expectancy in Canada could potentially decrease for the first time in decades—or more robust health insurance rates will roll on the population.

Some observers suggest that we could do a better job of caring for our seniors. "In Canada, many elderly people are living on a meager pension," says Laurent Marzlu, a demographer at Simon Fraser University, whereas in Japan they are brought into the homes of their family to spend their final years surrounded by loved ones. Benefits that provide home care services for older people have been put on the back burner as our health care dollars have become increasingly stretched.

In the future, many experts predict that the focus will not just be on ensuring our lives longer, but on making the healthy portion of our lives longer. There's a growing appreciation among the public and scientists of the importance of quality of life over spans of years. As the obesity crisis comes to a head, more of us will find ourselves in need of support and assistance. Even Tao, who has met with Aboriginal leaders and health officials will likely find herself caring for diabetics today, she notes, says Marzlu Mathews. The good news, she explains, is to "compensate morbidity," or minimize the actions of illness are risked. "So that you live well, and you have a fairly short period of time with illnesses, and then you die," Marzlu Mathews explains. "That would be the ideal scenario, absolutely." Long live Canada! ■

## LONG LIVE CANADIANS

Farre but the Mediterranean diet is divided—realistic is the myth of the healthy Swede. We Canadians actually live longer than the citizens of every major country in North America and Europe, and when you look at our average healthy life expectancy (which is the number of disease-free years we can expect to live), we still handily beat out Britain and the U.S.

Life expectancy, in years
Japan (82.6)
Australia (81.7)
Canada (79.6)
France (79.5)
Sweden (79.4)
United States (78.1)
Germany (77.9)
UK (77.5)
Italy (77.1)
China (76.8)



Source: Life expectancy in the world, 2008. © 2008 United Nations, Department of Economic and Social Affairs, Population Division. UN DESA. <http://esa.un.org/unpd/wpp/unpp/indicators.htm>

in Europe are just now beginning to think that would be a good idea."

Before we get too self-congratulatory, however, long-life experts say that there are still ways that Canada could and should improve our life expectancy. Perreault, for instance, is pleased at the progress the government has made to health care services and health needs are looking, especially among the Aboriginal population, says Trudeau. In fact, the lives of Aboriginals are between five and eight years shorter than the lifespan of the average Canadian, according to a detailed report on health indicators. Marzlu Mathews points to the prevalence of poverty as proof that this population is especially vulnerable to illness. Perreault believes that improving access to health care among Aboriginals is the most important next step toward further

in the future, many experts predict that the focus will not just be on ensuring our lives longer, but on making the healthy portion of our lives longer. There's a growing appreciation among the public and scientists of the importance of quality of life over spans of years. As the obesity crisis comes to a head, more of us will find ourselves in need of support and assistance. Even Tao, who has met with Aboriginal leaders and health officials will likely find herself caring for diabetics today, she notes, says Marzlu Mathews. The good news, she explains, is to "compensate morbidity," or minimize the actions of illness are risked. "So that you live well, and you have a fairly short period of time with illnesses, and then you die," Marzlu Mathews explains. "That would be the ideal scenario, absolutely." Long live Canada! ■

# THE TOUGHEST CANADA DAY QUIZ EVER



You thought last year's quiz was hard? This one will truly separate the patriots from the wannabes.

1. Two semi-autonomous territories in this province on July 14, 2003, became the world's first to be fully recognized?

a. Quebec      d. Manitoba  
b. Ontario      e. Nova Scotia  
c. BC

2. Which Canadian city reached the top five on both the 2008 *Economist* list of most livable cities and Mercer's list of best cities to live in?

a. Toronto      d. Calgary  
b. Montreal      e. Ottawa  
c. Vancouver

3. Which Canadian breaks the record for the most consecutive years in the world by market capitalization?

a. Royal Bank & Toronto-Dominion  
b. Bank of Montreal & CIBC  
c. Toronto-Dominion & Bank of Montreal  
d. Scotiabank & Royal Bank  
e. BMO & Scotiabank

4. According to the CIA's *World Factbook 2009*, Canada has the highest-logged life expectancy at 81.25 years. What is the world's average life expectancy?

a. 70.23 years  
b. 70.51 years  
c. 71.79 years

5. At which event did Canadian figure skater Kaitlyn Weaver and her partner Meagan Duhamel win the world's first successful consecutive Jumps-in-a-Row competition?

a. 1992 Winter Games  
b. 1998 World Championships

6. How many sites do we have?

a. 6      d. 12  
b. 9      e. 15  
c. 11

7. Pop singer Lady Gaga claims her first big break came when Canadian city?

a. Montreal      d. Vancouver  
b. Toronto      e. Hamilton  
c. Medicine Hat

8. How many international operations since 1947 have included Canadian Forces personnel?

a. 63      d. 61  
b. 14      e. 72  
c. 19

9. Which Canadian city replaced Montreal—the most expensive property on the board—in Monopoly's Here & Now: World Edition?

a. Toronto      d. Vancouver  
b. Montreal      e. Halifax  
c. Calgary

10. Which Canadian breaks the record for the most consecutive years in the world by market capitalization?

a. Royal Bank & Toronto-Dominion  
b. Bank of Montreal & CIBC  
c. Toronto-Dominion & Bank of Montreal  
d. Scotiabank & Royal Bank  
e. BMO & Scotiabank

11. Which Canadian musical act holds the record for the most consecutive weeks on top of the U.S. *Billboard* charts?

a. Metric  
b. Drake  
c. Bill Clinton  
d. George Washington

12. Who was the first true short takeoff and landing aircraft?

a. Bellanca      d. Bellanca  
b. Grumman      e. Macchi  
c. Canadair

13. Which Canadian musical act holds the record for the most consecutive weeks on top of the U.S. *Billboard* charts?

a. Metric  
b. Drake  
c. Bellanca  
d. Canadair  
e. Grumman

14. The UN has called on developed nations to contribute 0.7 per cent of their gross national income (GNI) to targets aid. How much does Canada contribute?

a. 0.20 per cent  
b. 0.30 per cent  
c. 0.75 per cent  
d. 0.85 per cent  
e. 1.00 per cent

15. Which Canadian province was the first to ban the sale of alcohol in 1901 and the last to repeal its prohibition laws in 1948?

a. Ontario  
b. Newfoundland  
c. Manitoba  
d. Saskatchewan  
e. Prince Edward Island

ON THE WEB: For part two of the quiz, visit [www.learnsay.ca/canadian](http://www.learnsay.ca/canadian)

BY CLAUDIO MUSSETTE  
PHOTOGRAPH BY GUY LAROCQUE  
ILLUSTRATION BY GUY LAROCQUE

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## THE BACK PAGES

### stage

Colin Firth at Stratford

★★★½

### bazaar

500 things for a phone to do

★★★½

### film

A new kind of kinky

★★★

### taste

Delicate or disgusting?

★★★

### help

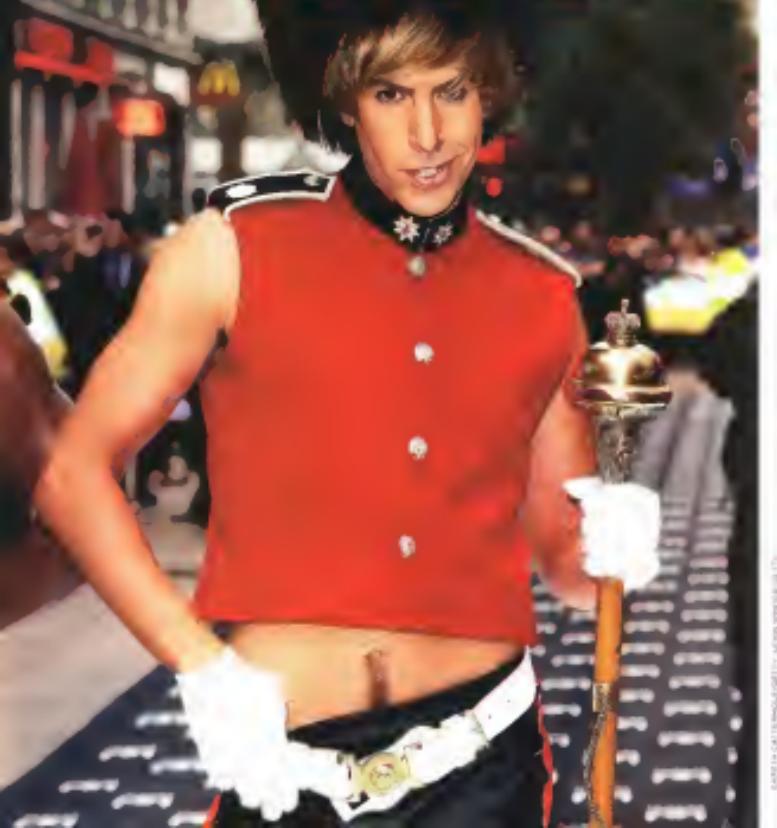
How to get revenge

★★★

### steyn

The Iris Evans apology

★★



# THE OTHER MAN BEHIND BRUNO



**Sacha Baron Cohen may be the star but the person pushing the comedy envelope is often director Larry Charles** BY JAIME J. WEINMAN

### film

Who is the man behind *Agent and *now* Bruno*? Sacha Baron Cohen is the guy staring in the semi-improvised movie about fraud, the gay Australian fashion expert he interviewed on the *60 O'Clock*; he's the one who will participate in such already famous scenes as the one in which he makes a body wear a *Turbot* that isn't "Gappy"; but the man directing *Bruno*, which comes out (as part of *Marley*) on July 30, is Larry Charles, who directed *Cohen* in *Bruno* as well. He also wrote some of the best episodes of *Seinfeld* and helped create *Curb Your Enthusiasm* and *Arrested Development* into hits. The one thing he hasn't done yet is create a success full project of his own: every high-profile film and TV show he's done is somebody else's. Charles describes himself as "MacGuffin" in "Rudinovia of comedy," using the British term for someone who wants to help other bring about a delight moment. "I'm passing off my own vision to everybody else's vision." In this case, it was achieved by letting Sacha Baron Cohen do ridiculous things in front of bemused onlookers.

Not that Charles, a diminutive comedy writer with an equally diminutive appearance (a cross between a hippie and Bob Odenkirk), is the parody of Charles Manson on the old *Ali G* (Stiller *Ali G*), Jackie Lee's own onlookers as a thimble: he didn't work with Cohen on *60 O'Clock* and took over director after the last time he worked on the original *Seinfeld*, *Todd* (Hollis), but Charles isn't just a director for hire on Cohen's comedy franchise. Instead, he sees these movies as a chance to "push the boundaries of what a studio comedy could go to." Even after *Bruno* was slightly toned to avoid an NC-17 rating, Charles proudly says

that "it's the dirtiest comedy ever made. That's not f---ing in my cup." He seems intent on the almost classical question of how offensive a movie can be without people off, whether it's the nude swearing scene in *Reent* or the already infamous Hitler and Hitler jokes in *Bruno*. People shouldn't, "try to create agreed upon boundaries." The audience is a good barometer of that stuff.

This kind of selling sees to push the audience—seen to the point of pain—but always been a trademark of Charles' comedy, even when he's working under strict limitations that a movie "is" rating. On *Seinfeld*, where he was the first soft water handyperson to work with creator Larry David on the sketch show *Madrigal*, and was known to the staff as "the other Larry," he wrote the darkest episodes of the series, in which characters are arrested for shoplifting, chased in a bed and rebbed, or maulled by the leaders of a neo-Nazi group.

Charles has moved to running the show *Mad About You*. He earned a fourth *Emmy* nomination this year for his role as a man who has to take a second look at the real of marriage—complete with fight, divorce threats, and unexpected pregnancies. He's managed to turn *Mad About You* into an unscripted show that's won more dispensing and depressing than the original comic strip. Now even forable with a copious comedy, he thinks even



CHARLES (at left, with Cohen) directed both *Bruno* and *Marley*. On *Mad About You*, he wrote the show's darkest episodes

feels who have gotten the planet in a mess. Cohen's films are more commercial—Charles says that he layers in "a little and broad humor, and very absurd humor, in the real hopefully it's a large audience finds something funny in the movie." But the political and racial issues are still there; they're just former because the star is someone far more than full-fledged.





SOME APPS do weird things. We don't know exactly what they do, though that hasn't stopped these militia people from downloading it

## I can turn my phone into a shotgun

**The most popular apps in iPhone's App Store are mindless, silly and increasingly tasteless**

BY COLIN CAMPBELL • Eddie Maths and James Anthony were students at Stanford University when, working out of a dorm room earlier this year, they wrote an application for the Apple iPhone called *Shotgun*. It's a mindless little program that lets you left your iPhone down and up to replicate the motion and sound of a shotgun being pumped and fired. Silly as it might seem, it's been wildly popular. Over three million people and counting have downloaded it from Apple's iPhone App Store over the past three months.

With *Shotgun*, they also hit the Apple app jackpot. They made two versions of the app one that's free and one with a five extra features that costs 99 cents. They're dedicated to say exactly how much they've earned, but because it's enough to support them and their new company, *Unstable Software*, the same time. "We're both comfortable working for a year and if we don't make any more money we'll still be doing just fine," says Anthony, on the phone from Palo Alto, Calif., a hubbed for app developers where the poor are now looking for an apartment. Since graduating last week they've been cranking on *Shotgun*.

Their story underscores just how popular, and strange, the Apple app craze has become. There are now 10,000 apps on the App Store, which together account for 100 billion download. Very few will ever find an audience like *Shotgun*. In fact, while Maths and Anthony launched their game, four other people had the same idea—these guys happened to get noticed on a popular video game site, and landed on the App Store's top 100 list. "We got lucky," says Anthony. Still, thousands of developers are churning out programs hoping for their shot at iPhone fame and fortune. The App Store was born late last year when

Apple opened the door to third party developers, letting them write any kind of program for the iPhone they could dream up. Some like the app *Shazam*, are brilliant. It uses the iPhone's microphone to listen to a song being played in a room and moments later tells you the name and artist. Some apps use the iPhone's camera to provide wrapping-up-and-undoing services. *Blur My Face* allows less others do simple things, like organize shopping cart details. Or provide the latest sports scores or news. (Yes, Maths has one.) But most apps, like *Shotgun*, which uses the iPhone's motion sensor, are simply there to entertain—the sicker the better. If anything, the App Store has emerged as a kind of repository of dirty humor. *Alien Mind* is the founder of the popular weird site *Kappacon*, which reviews some of the more mindless apps, or *empsa*, as they've become known. He says there's been a steady progression toward designing increasingly crazy apps. First came the *fat* Apps, like *Short Melchie* (it makes fat nouns), the *humping* and *womint* apps. The latest find is "spacy" apps, often featuring women in various stages of undress. One standout "craap" in *Silly Alphabet*, says Maths. The criterion here is up to her. "We hired a professor [voice model] to speak all the letters of alphabet [in] a weird and sophisticated way."



WHAT THEY GOT FOR IT: A HITLER WATERCOLOUR

An original still life watercolor by Adolf Hitler sold for \$12,000 at a Sotheby's auction in New York City. The painting was signed and dated 1937, when the future Nazi leader—then in his early 30s—was living in Austria. Measuring 9 1/2 inches by 11 1/2 inches, the painting depicts a vase filled with flowers. In this youth Hitler was an aspiring artist, but his idiosyncrasies manifested when he was twice rejected by the Vienna Academy of Fine Arts. He later turned his rejections on a Jewish professor.

**"Rush to see it."**  
"Thrilling!"

• Toronto Star  
• Globe and Mail  
• Detroit Free Press

lost of 4)

• Toronto Star  
• Globe and Mail  
• Detroit Free Press

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with Chilina Kennedy  
Paul Nolan

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Book by Arthur Laurents Music by Leonard Bernstein  
Lyrics by Stephen Sondheim  
Original Production Directed and Choreographed by Jerome Robbins  
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SANDRA BULLOCK, WHO STARS IN STEVEN SODERBERGH'S LATEST FILM, IS IN HER OF JEAN-LUC GODARD AND CARICATURED USING ANNE KARENNE AS A PORN STAR

## A new kink in cinema's porn habit

**Graphic sex in mainstream movies isn't new. Hiring a porn star for her conversation is.**

BY BRIAN D. JOHNSON • Sandra Bullock is not the first porn actress to make the leap to mainstream movies. As early as 1973, David Cronenberg's *Marilyn Chambers* in *Rabbit as a Zoo* with a flesh-peeling phallus in her song (though it may be stretching it to call *Rabbit* mainstream). Tracy Lords parlayed her infamy in an underground tour of adult movie houses into a string of roles in burlesque and variety shows. Jenny Jones once had an attempt on straddling the medium between the adult and mainstream industries. But Grey must be the first hard-core porn actress ever to a lead role in an Oscar-winning movie.

In *The Girlfriend Experience*, a British low-budget film by Steven Soderbergh, the plays Chloë, a high-end dominatrix call girl that Soderbergh (*Erin Brockovich*, *Gravity*) apparently doesn't explain. Grey's obvious assets. There's no explicit sex and not much nudity. Set during last fall's U.S. presidential election, the story concerns Chloë's relationships with her affluent but newly dimwitted father as they fall over economic dooms. Interpreting dialogue with a cast of non-professional actors, Grey plays a version of herself, a sex worker trying to keep her dignity while selling pleasure.

What makes this pleasure upscale is the shade of friendship—we see her on a moist dinner date with a client, discussing the finer points of the documentary *Man on Wire*. And like Chloë's customers, who pay \$1,000 an hour for "girlfriend experience," Soderbergh has hired Grey more for the conversation than the sex. And that's a new look at the strange and tangled relationship between porn and serious cinema, which have been having affairs for a long time.

Before the Internet turned porn into a

blockbuster industry, cinema's own gods had always flinched with erotic extremes. Directed women often led the way, including Nagisa Oshima (*In the Realm of the Senses*), Bernardo Bertolucci (*The Decalogue*), and Ang Lee (*Last Castle*), who have all played sex with mainstream actors. But sometimes it's easier just to hire a professional. For a hard-core scene in *Flower* (1999), French filmmaker Céline Sciamma cast actress Béatrice Sibethé—who, coincidentally, would be Grey's first partner when she made her adult film debut at 18.

Now 21, Grey has 100 miles under her belt, from *Mary-Mare in Face/Off* to *Sex and the City*. She has a taste for rough sex, and her scenes rank with the most hard-core stuff out there, though virtually everyone on the adult menu but her doesn't fit the usual image of a star. She's raw and surprisingly unashamed, also could pass for the girl next door. And while most porn stars who graduate to mainstream roles, she hasn't destroyed her roots.

On the phone from Australia, where she's promoting *Girlfriend Experience*, Grey says she's sick of hearing comparisons from unformed journalists: "It's always the redacted writer: 'It's all a mistake and someone cracked me into doing this.' But you know what? If you can't say no, then you shouldn't be in that business." With protocols like that, there are some lines between art and porn that may never be erased. ■

### WE'RE STALKING... KATE HIGGS

A romantic novel took her from the weeds when British supermodel Kate Moss threw her friend Joanne Higgs's bedside table, demolishing his laptop, which contained an unprinted song by his band the Kats. According to British tabloid the *Sunday Mirror*, the song was never booked and was lost forever. Higgs pined at Moss, "You're acting like a whore!" The couple wrote up after, and Kate is buying him a new computer. ■



SOME ARGUE that we would be better off eating a perfectly good source of protein, especially given the environmental costs of raising livestock

## Horrors, it's like eating your dog!

Or as fans say, like eating cotton candy. Horse meat, it seems, divides us into two solitudes.

BY PAMELA CUTSHAW • Much like rabbiting on seal, taking cuts of meat off of horse meat divides diners some appear to relish the thought. "I can't tell lamb and bunny rabbit meat apart," says one squeamishness, but the question of chomping on clod has long divided Canada's carnivores into two solitudes. There's a majority of typically francophone Quebecers whose horse meat is a delicious source of protein. In Montreal, butcher shops such as the Bouchon Chevalier Prince are named and lauded for their fine cuts of black beauty and, keepers pass with English speakers the world over, there are those who believe it's delicious. In fact, horse is a foodie reddit whenever you look—considered exotic in Japan, it's prohibited for Muslims and Jews and was once banned by a pope.

But lately, the carnivores of flesh, with the added bonus of a good health profile, a deliciously sweet taste and reasonable price, are becoming a trendy fixture in rep restaurants. Gaston Vong von Gersheim, chef of the Black Hoof and a young weird with a mustache who regularly mauls Toronto's top tapas, is an evangelist for "First, there's no other name for it, like beef or pork," he says. "It's just horse meat." But these vaudeville Adonis' aren't the only ones who might take a risk on something like horse, who might like to know where it comes from. Barr's hawkish to know the source of the meat. That's because horses generally enter the food chain not from farms, like pigs or other livestock, but when they are no longer needed—mashies no longer winning, work horses no longer to pull that wagon. That's why the meat from companies such as Le Terre Black River Game Farm in Melvilleton, Ont., are tenderloin, sirloin, rump, chuck eye, and chuck roll served with a side of hot sauce ("it's a mellow meat, not gamey at all, and it doesn't need all that seasoning"), he says.

At the tiny Toronto eatery Angiers, chef Martin Kourpis added horse to his menu both in a few steaks tenderloin, served with sautéed onions and, as rare, (because horse was the original name in French, not beef.)

which in turn get it from slaughterhouses. "There is no sense of environmental," explains La Ferme owner Elzette Afra.

Worse, the industry is growing. A notorious bad boy now, the CBC produced a shocking investigation last year about horse-slaughter operations in a Canadian company, and a recent article from Canadian Press circulated about kick and slash animals from the U.S. being auctioned off as "bill buyers" while sold to meat processors such as Vanda Industries in Quebec. One American breeder was caught doing animal cruelty. These issues are part of why the U.S. shamed its slaughterhouses for killing, though, unusually, the country remains a major exporter of the animals.

On the other hand, a growing movement, propagated by the American Association of Veterinary Medicine, is advocating for selling the animal as a slaughter rather than leaving them living and unwanted. And some argue it's natural meat to eat a perfectly good source of protein, especially given the environmental costs of raising livestock.

Yann Gersheim is in favour of "responsible" horse as food, but he, like Kourpis, wants more information about the source. "I don't have that one-on-one connection, like I do with my free-range supplier. At Chez Champs Elysées, I went to their farm and they educated me about what they do and how they do it. I wish I could do that with horsemeat. We all need to know, and that means the public too." ■

### TODAY'S SPECIAL: A CHOCOLATE "WHIP"



Take note: a treat for him. Le Whif is a micro-enterprise from inventor and Harvard professor David Edwards—chocolate you can taste. The calorie-free treat coats the mouth and throat with a thin layer of chocolate dust, giving about four parts sugar to 70 parts Edwards has big plans for his invention. He's taking samples on a world tour and has already premiered Le Whif at the Cannes film festival.



JALTED WOMEN might consider putting up posters of their ex with the line "Lost Dog"—or for the very angry, there's always superglue.

## How to get revenge on a cheater

Eva Nagorski offers betrayed wives a wealth of creative ways to hit an ex where it hurts

BY CATHY GELLI • The masters of superglue could never have imagined these creative acts of women seeking revenge on cheating exes spread around the rim of a trailer seat, the long's house becomes a more permanent residence. Rolled over a thermometer turned on full blast, it really gets her feeling hot and bothered. And a deliciously applied glue affixes a sleeping man's penis to his slumbering dog's snout so that all the dogs sit up. Remind the collar with these no-nonsense tactics and watch him run!

Such scenarios are captioned in a new book, provocatively titled *Revenge: Setting It Up Nice and Cold to That Lying Cheating Bastard* by Eva Nagorski. She got the idea after being held by an ad agency for a viral marketing campaign to promote a Court TV show called *Police 411* and her blogging as a fictional wife with a strong husband. "I let my husband revenge touch everyone's life somehow," says the "People get hurt and they wear pink."

The book, which is aimed at women even though Nagorski acknowledges get run after the results of infidelity too. It's written between on-offhand snarls and commentary by an actress on the merits and dangers of getting revenge. Imagines a mauling of all-help-the "Cheating Quiz" guides your level and style of vendettas, and even a segue for "the coldblood of revenge" and "one-horborg" he'll never see you again." History and pop culture, written in the tone of a crackle novel.

In the book, Nagorski offers the Bridget Jones generation of women advice like an Imaan Hammam show. When the diva expressed, "Don't get mad, get even," Nagorski quips, "Conquer or die."

The best revenge, says Nagorski, targets a cheater's deepest possession or hobby and

worse. One woman who fell asleep while skydiving on her front under a SUV nearly died. Those seeking a more muted form of revenge may consider putting up posters of their ex with the line "Lost Dog," which happened in the fictional web blog.

Then there are the epic urban myths, like the one about the woman who snuffed her wife's hollow-carbon rods after her a fish-fillet partner refused to leave their apartment. She ate it off of West, weeks later. He couldn't figure out the source of the stench, the man was forced to leave, too—and he took the carbon rods with him.

No matter what form the revenge takes, Nagorski says, it's done well and legally, the experience should be therapeutic—like expert in the book even suggests revenge is the first step toward forgiveness. One of Nagorski's hopes for the book is that it will tell the real stories of people experience for long, angry and vengeful. In her defense, something that revenge and cheating have in common, says Nagorski, "It's hard for people to admit you did."

Half the fun of reading that book is being semi-public with it. All the better if the ex catches you reading it. Nagorski, who says she's happily married, writes about her husband's infidelity to her during the tactics. His wife learned during her research: "He's scared," she laughs, before quickly adding, "No, he's not." You never know there are plenty of bad backs who will be. ■

PHOTOGRAPH BY ANDREW CHOI

### LAST CALL: MOST IMPROVED



### RICKY HOLLYWOOD?

Levi Johnston—Amen's first role as his dad's best bud—just might be the next Hollywood heartthrob. He recently landed *True Blood* and then *American Justice*, to his mother's delight and boyfriend's bewilderment. The two have come up with an ingenious plan to continue Johnston's talented election-time legacy. "What we did was, we came up with an alter ego," Ricky Hollywood, "and he's a stud," he says. "He's a fighter." He really loves, because he wants to stay cool for *Walla!*



FROM THE 1954 movie '1949'. Big brother is watching, aka Steyn, when it's easier just to get rid of him. When it's not, it's unsayable.

## The fat cats vs. Blazing Cat Fur

### The Dominion of Canada feels a bunch of ingrate impecunious bloggers is out to get it



MARK STEYN

The other day Mark Steyn, the finance minister of Alberta, gave a speech in the Economic Club of Toronto. And right at the end she wagged that present a night who prepared to make some economic remarks in order to let him with their young kids. "When you're raising children," she said, "you don't both go out to work and leave the in for some body else to run."

For some reason, David Swanson, the Leader of the Majority's Loyal Opposition, felt the need to rail at Steyn from the bar. Can you guess what it said? "Okay, stand well back."

"If she really and these things, she must apologize. If she doesn't apologize, the prime minister for her," said Mr. Swanson. "These are truly outrageous comments. I have never been so honored by the sheer arrogance and ignorance of the Tories in 10 years."

Golly. Given the Master Legion of "sheer arrogance and ignorance" piled up by the Tories, if the poor, we truly entitled thing has never been so actually brazenly snubbed as he is today, he must have had a very sheltered life.

In Canada, it is now apparently reflexive to think, "You can't say that!" Ms. Evans was careful to observe the sanctity. "This is not a statement about diversity," she said, "but it would certainly have no difficulty producing and refuting an argument in support of her assertion. To be sure, other studies say other things. Obviously, her new (*i.e.* what's the word?) "defensible" but in the denoted Dominion who say that defining it's easier just to get rid of dissenting views rendered unsayable."

In a previous incarnation, David Swanson

was fêted for his support of the Kyoto treaty. So he should be less quick off the mark in flagging down Ms. Evans' full-blown formal accusation of corruption from public life. I see the federal leadership has not yet put full force behind "postmodern justice work."

Perhaps, he'll have a chance to apologize during his next look-up cage-wrestling.

Needless to say, he got his way. Ed Stelmach, the premier of Alberta, pronounced Ms. Evans' words "incredible," and a day or two later the minister apologized. Whether it was sincere or not is of no consequence. Young, amateurish politicians enjoy to claim the gravy goes well with the message. You will still, however, run into, hear such talk only rarely a strong argument but only when pushed fairly far beyond the like-minded, in the dead of night, for the

duration of power. That's to say, you'll hear it in the broads of Canadian public discourse whenever you take a little more.

Indeed, it's not only the like-minded who argue that policing all but a superficiality. Over in Ottawa, the House of Commons subcommittee on international human rights was investigating Canada's "human rights" commission. Don't ask me why the domestic HRCs come under an international subcommittee—once you will and expand why, it's probably a "human rights" agenda. Canada increasingly seems like a foreign country, to perhaps a lone conversant to keep it in with the Indian and human rights commissions. Anyways, professor Robert B. Martin of the University of Western Ontario gave a sober presentation on the evolution of Canadian "human rights" over the past

two thirds of a century. He considered the case of "a particularly odious man called John Ross Taylor," a self-proclaimed Nazi who in 1941 became "the first person in Canada to be imprisoned for expressing an opinion" since the Second World War. During the immediate expansion of the "Human Rights" commissions' thought policing in the years since, he examined the Alberta commission's prosecution of the Research Stamp. It's been a long time since the professor's letter to a local newspaper objecting to what he called the "Humanistic agenda." The Province of Alberta punished the Research Stamp by imposing a fine, a public apology and a lifetime speech ban, ordering him never to make a "disparaging" remark (legal loophole, no!) about human rights or legal rights, or speed or torturing in public or as a private, anywhere on the planet—or, for all I know, the galaxy. Professor Martin wondered why they didn't just have the

Perhaps the "peace worker" would be more temperate if he took up cage-wrestling

he's learned in the state. He has a good point, as the argument of a secular theocracy in which the "human rights" enforcement can serve as the holy inquisition.

After the witness's remarks, the chairman of the committee turned to Liberal member Mario Bégin for the first question. Did he have any concerns about encouraging charges for their opinions, or imposing lifetime speech bans? Not at all. "As a gay man," began Mr. Bégin, "I am not very fond of the good old days before the commission existed, when it was okay to spout gay, it was okay to do whatever against them, it was okay to beat them up. So I'm not going to go back to those old days."



JENNIFER LYNCH apologized for her words. "Young journalists politicians will get the message."

Unless I fended off in the crucial part, professor Martin hadn't said a word about spending or hiring them up. Presumably, had the Liberal had a blacklist somewhere, he'd have and he would've gone to back to the good old days when the professor would dash into his white sheet and string him up from a tree on the ridge of town. As it happens, opponents of Section 11—Canada's thought-censorship—include the Liberal MP Dr. Ruth Martin. "The brown guy" has by his own admission, members of the group EQUAL, the multi-faith On Our Own network at PEN. Yet, no one has really been laid out the one, the assumption of Mr. Bégin and the group that laid them is that you're just an old-time white-supremacist homophobe. In other words, to get out the no no's under the circumstances, professor Martin doesn't mind summarily forbearance. "That is a classic example of the kind of argumentative technique used by people who support the thought police," he replied quickly. "I'm a principled argument, etc., in favour of freedom of expression. I do not hold any baggage to that argument."

Mr. Bégin had no response to this and turned over to his Liberal colleague, Jim Durrell. "It's quite hard to hear the denial of a historical fact," responded Mr. Durrell, a pro-Liberal Senator. "These people should be held to account."

Professor Martin very politely suggested that free speech doesn't establish an official version of history and punish anyone who might deviate from the official version.

And so it was, the Liberal subcommittee decided to engage with the very concept of principle. Indeed, their principal principle seems to be a principled adherence to principle: disagree with what you say but they will fight to the death for the right not to have to listen to it. That's why we need government agencies to police all those opinions and determine which ones are sufficiently baneful to be comparable with a diverse society

Meanwhile, in Montreal, Jennifer Lynch, Q.C., Canada's Chief Censor, gave a speech to CASHRA. Deyna known when CASHRA's line should. You pay for it. It's the Canadian Association of Statutory Human Rights Agencies. That's right, they have a club they all belong to. Also, the song lines were more muted this year. Like professor Martin, Commissioner Lynch was interested in the thought-censorship in Canada but, in her case, the Chair of Censorship was more complacent that I'm suggesting the free speech of her massive government bureau over. Seriously. As the *National Post* put it:

"She also claimed that those who accused the CHRC and its provincial counterparts of 'chilling' free expression with the accusations of sexism to such as Mark Steyn and Eric Savoie were themselves guilty of 'internal strife.' Harsh criticism of the commissioners in the media had discouraged many of their supporters from coming forward to defend their interests," she said. "Oftentimes, they are brave enough to speak out but have relented to withering personal criticism in opinion pieces and letters to the editor."

Oh, dear, what's the country coming to? Defenders of state censorship are accustomed to speak out in favor of not letting people speak out? You could hardly ask for a better snapshot of the degradation of "Humanrights" in contemporary Canada than the chart concerning who is being persecuted with full of government apparatus that the largest citizenry are insufficiently respectful of them. The bureaucrat in the top table counted two deaths of public dollar public. Jennifer Lynch represents state power. For one, I'll repeat a bunch of impecunious bloggers. Yet, the Dominion of Canada has been reduced to complaining that Blazing Cat Fur is out to get us.

"Humanrights" are rights for humans, fair individuals—and instruments over government powers. Canada has now greatly inverted the concept to mean enhanced government power and restrictions on individuals

## MACLEAN'S BESTSELLERS

COMPILED BY MELISSA RETTIGE

### Fiction

1 <i>THE CHILDREN'S BOOK</i> by A.S. Byatt	1,001
2 <i>THE ANGEL'S GAME</i> by Colm Toibin	83
3 <i>TIME TIME FOR THE TRADITIONALLY BUILT</i> by Alexander McCall Smith	9,111
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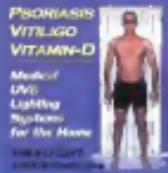
LAST WEEK'S BESTSELLERS LIST

The CHRC profiles it thus:

"In the face of such fear of free speech and freedom from bias, Canada's commitment to equality has to be upheld."

Ah, but there is no equality. An Alberta pastor writes a short letter to the paper about homosexuals and gets a lifetime speech ban. A Montreal news publication is cause to be called for homosexuals to be "headed," and the CHRC rejects the complaint.

There is no "equality," because equality is always balanced. Across Alberta to the House of Commons to CASHRA, the light of vigilance goes where it needs to go. And, under the smoky fire, the PC conservatives overrule the publicists. #



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A BAN ON TEXTING will allow drivers to focus on more important things. After all, those teenagers aren't going to paint themselves.

## Oh, technology, you're spoiling us

Reuniting us with semi-friends, updating us on Ashton's views on Iran... you keep giving



SCOTT FESCHUK

Technology is great at solving problems. For instance, I used to have the problem of being able to sneak out of work to go see a movie, but my BlackBerry "solved" that. Now people can instantly make me work, even at night! Thanks, technology. What other problems have you solved for us, lady?

**Lif's problem:** Those people from high school that I hoped—*there was no way to get them back into my life!*

**Technology's solution:** Facebook.

It used to be a real chore to get in touch with people you were desperate to lose touch with in the first place. But thanks to Facebook, it's a snap to renew acquaintances with all sort of long lost buds and rekindle yourself why you shunned them in the first place.

Facebook is also a great way to let friends know what you're doing. For instance, if you are not hanging out, you can adjust your update instead of "you're hanging out." If you are regregating home occupied as "friends" away from your past when you are really distant and scarce, you can adjust your update to read "Lesbially married by grooms."

**Lif's problem:** Not being clever enough at dragoneering in a firecrash of one's own making.

**Technology's solution:** Testing behind the wheel.

Back in the good old days, a racing vehicle meant one of only two things: either the driver was crashing or he was winning the annual season in Gacy Bonny's head. (A

house—over right.) Now, it's more likely to be some loneidthead shoving a message on his or her cellphone.

Several U.S. states have proposed or introduced laws to ban texters while driving. B.C. police chief went on overnight bus to drive using cellphone. That paternalism has angered some teens. One high school student in Utah recently tried to counter the perception that "all teens are always texting all the time." Not so, he wrote. In fact, one of his friends said of texting while driving "I only reply if it's a good conversation, but it's just reply, then I won't reply." Surely it will comfort the family to know their boy was so discriminating in sending his wimpy messages before the impact of the crash shattered his pelvis.

**Silly kids.** They just don't get that a ban on texting will allow drivers to focus on more important things. After all, those fingerfests aren't going to point the rascals.

**Lif's problem:** A lot of stuff written on the Web is too thought provoking. Any way we can ditch it down?

**Technology's solution:** Twitter.

Twitter is awesome if you're a big fan of abbreviations or spelling mistakes. Spend a few days on the site and you'll find it hard to believe we ever lived in a world where we didn't know what Cyndi Lauper was having for lunch (she was giving the "traditional" "dying" and a few additional options). Half of GYN's programme today is now filled with anchors reading the "twitst" (<http://bit.ly/1mMv9uP>) and the like.

Why? Because Ashton. Amongst the big backs when Ashton Kutcher is hosting his analysis of the human element for *Entertainment Weekly* he likes to throw in a few "I don't know that we should" purring

and that just don't. Kutcher opened in a new issue of *Entertainment Weekly* as the new U.S. intelligence report entitled, "Options 2.0 Considered by Persuade Iran deal."

Still, one wonders how long Twitter can stay popular. I imagined a whole book, but the more I tried to imagine adapting to the site's form of interaction, the jetty I'd get, that's why I've mercy-christened it.

Like most who are young and extremely busy, I have a pathological urge to use the chance shag-fabulation of social media to gain to inform others of my every thought and activity—even when such meanderings were to be uttered verbatim, would probably end within a 20 foot radius to develop an acute case of who the hell corners.

But it is 21 words! Dude, what's the point? That's why I'm introducing a new me saying ability, *fbish*.

It'll allow you to keep in touch with friends, update colleagues and perpetuate the illusion that your daily routine has subtle undertones of meaning. But it does so by taking posting to a more reasonable number of characters' mile. Also, no vowels.

Did you really sleep? Let the world know you totally slept in. Just log on to *fbish* and type: "Didjits" future generations will cherish your insight into the human condition.

Did you come across something really boring on the internet? What everyone with *fbish* "knows" about it.

Did seeing a dog in a pet store window make you? Don't keep that kind of gold to yourself, then "fbish" it—*fbish* it.

But is the future of social messaging and desperate cry for attention. Start. Biting now before starting to *fbish* makes you seem helplessly trendy.

ON THE WEB: To read Feschuk on the internet, visit his blog [mashable.com/feschuk](http://mashable.com/feschuk).

## THE GRIZZLY

1999-2000

The largest grizzly observed in Banff for decades, he enjoyed a playful rivalry with the local wolves.

**T**he Boddy Mountain wilderness of Banff National Park is a study, unpeeling ceremony, an eruption of rock and ice so short of food that grizzlies here grow smaller than their coastal, sunbathing cousins. But one winter a decade ago, in a stupor driving high in the ice low, a grizzly gave birth in a frozen lake. He began life, at precisely the baton's cub of just 350 g. Blakely's mother lasted four years, longer than far bears in other locales. Lessons dealt in the rains with lush green, zappy good spots for a nest, danger zones between them, and how at Banff she now frequently oversteps. "Bettors move across the landscape in giant giant gene," says Perle, Canada's carnivore specialist. "Bumping into people here, bumping into people there, bumping into people there."

He determined to inventory the best places to forage for ramps, onions and, in late summer, buffalo berry (my, intensely sour and sweet for foraging up prior to blossoming) but his motherly side also led him to the CP Rail tracks, where longhopper ears have for years rippled green, corn and peas—irresistible candy for grazers. On that walk he heeded me, and had few brushes with people, he remained untroubled by park wardens and unmarked signs on a "problem" trail. When he finally set out alone and duly groaned, a lone hiker rang of 1,000 sq. km. I perched up half a bus wheelbarrow that did not hurt himself an enormous animal, as big as 270 kg, the largest in the area since the mountain pastures began to be pruned down and garbage bins discarded. His powers were big as his chin, with his claws like needles in flesh than for searching his burrowing root, glacier rock and durability—so sharp long-lasting needles the colour of pine bark. Among these 500 grooves, he was the closest at hand, punctuated with hissing formulas.

His bulk allowed the bear to dominate most conflicts not above muscling aside fellow predators to claim their kills as his own. Even the Eos Valley wolf pack, then nine members strong, did not venture close by. Indeed, he shadowed the pack, often in close company, at times

be used to make a *harmless* environment for capturing a sense of the

He would have to remain, triggering an unpredictable game of cat-and-mouse. Days later, Blackie was in a meadow, watching the pack; the matriarch calling about a wolf, left signalling the wolves were done by—when suddenly the bear ran into the clearing instead. As a group of young wolves arrived, the bear was “nearly dead,” Blackie says. “Not charging, no bluffing, no aggression.” The wolf changed when Nenah, alpha male and matriarch of the wolf pack near Delta, came. For four days the bear stayed in the pack, a confirmation that she was indeed a member. Denting is a photo series showing a rare glimpse into an otherwise secret world, that at times is fierce, at times playful that shines the wolf’s defiance but also their resilience. In reality, the grizzly sat in his branches, protecting his mate and the pack, surprised at the prospect of meeting all corners. But when the wolves approached as a pack, the bear “knew he was in trouble”—you couldn’t tell her, says Denting. Standard (page 55) says grizzly “is surrounded by a pack of wolves, its snarls and growls punctuating the ground, generating an explosion of snarls that scattered the pack. On another approach, Nenah tensed as the bear was threatened away, prompting snarling. That move allowed the predators to attack the bear’s nearby elk kill—that emerged from a bear/hawk/human in their mouths.

Lau Lazarus, a member of Yukon National Park Board noted the grizzly near Field, B.C., heading east along the Yukon River, tracking his dog spilted by passing trains, the only bear in the area not yet in hibernation. On Dec. 10, Dealing spotted him over a dead deer, a wolf standing beside it, the distance 100 yards. The gory photographs taken by Dealing came in December and then again in March. He can be seen ambling through underpasses beneath the Trans Canada Hwy. In May, a researcher studying railway maintenance stumbled upon the bear scavenging a carcass by the side of the road. Sonja Miller, Steve Macchi, a Yukon wildlife conflict specialist, was conducting an aerial survey when he spotted an enormous bear in a clearing beneath him. For Macchi, who has long argued against

"I know who is up there, but I'm not even going to bother naming." Such were the last sightings of the grizzly #13-1818, on May 14, a bear struck and killed him. One of Tenzing's photos, taken during his battle with the pack, captures the grizzly surrounded by three strutting wolves, a wildlife misapple dance. All four animals are now dead—struck either by car or by a LCP train. **MICHAEL BODDIE**



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